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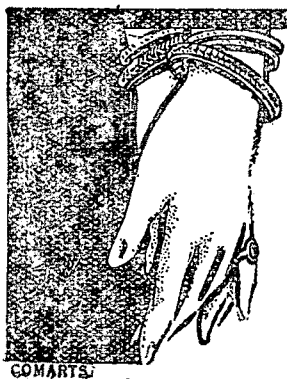

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WELCOME ADDRESS*

PROF. P. N. BANERJEE, M.A., B.L., P.R.S.,
—BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, Indian Economic Conference

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The custom of years allows me the privilege of extending to you all a most cordial welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee and on behalf of the University of Calcutta. We meet here at the Economic Conference in this great city after a long lapse of years. This city still bears on its brow the scars of war, of famine, of fratricidal strife. For a year and more, we have seen the worst forms of vulgarity and barbarity perpetrated by insanity. We meet here today in the most critical and yet the most auspicious period in the story of our chequered history. A Free India awaits your lead. India has taken her rightful place in the Commonwealth of the free nations of the world. It is for you to help our beloved country to shape her economic destiny. Your responsibilities are indeed great.

Indian economists of the future will have to play a role which has been different from the past. The system of colonial economy has not yet passed into the limbo of oblivion. We have seen the distress for centuries, the frittering away of our resources. The instant economic and commercial problems of a poverty-ridden India, richly endowed by nature, require your immediate solution. Our

* Delivered at the 30th session of Indian Economic Conference, held at the Senate House, University of Calcutta, on 22nd December, 1947.

own Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces must realise to the fullest extent the help that this Conference can render in the sphere of economic and commercial rehabilitation, in the direction of planning and reconstruction, in the stabilization of the policies of food and trade.

We meet under auspicious circumstances. But we must not forget that we meet in a divided India. Politics has divided India. Political economy has suffered a shocking blow from this division. I shall merely refer to the two great problems which stare in the face, *viz.*, the question of starvation and the question of rehabilitation of refugees.

Partition has led and will lead our country in future to distress consequent on the problem of food. Even before the partition, India's food problem was perilously near the critical line. Assuming our census figures are correct, the population in India during the last inter-war period shows unprecedented rise, perhaps unknown in the history of the world. It is reported that the population has increased by twenty-seven per cent while the area under food crops has been extended by two per cent. The second world-war gave a most violent shock to the economy of India. A famine, unexampled in the recent history, scoured the land, carried off millions of people into untimely graves and has left its black mark upon youth and age. We are now all living on the precipice of a volcano. The partition of India has placed the Dominion of India in a most difficult position. As regards rice, a small margin of surplus available in Orissa and Assam can hardly meet the demands of the deficit in the Indian Dominion. Imports from abroad in the present circumstances can alone fill up the gap. Our position in Western Bengal is indeed very critical. With a total area of twenty-eight thousand square miles and a total population of two

crores and eleven lakhs, with evacuees and refugees from Eastern Pakistan, the great problem of problems for us is to feed the population. Eastern Pakistan compares favourably with Western Bengal in respect of food. East Bengal also is a deficit area. Her deficit may however be satisfied by surplus rice available in normal years in Sind and Western Punjab. West Bengal will hardly be able to satisfy the *per capita* needs of her people for a long time to come. West Bengal will have to decide finally and within the short period of time available to us whether she will lead a pastoral and agricultural life or she will lead the path of further industrialization. Apart from rice, the other staple foodcrop in India, *viz.*, wheat, causes anxiety. In divided India, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces and Berar will be the only surplus areas. This surplus will be wholly inadequate for meeting the needs of the provinces within the Indian Dominion and the States which have chosen to accede to the Union. The richest wheat-growing areas, as is well-known, are Sind and Western Punjab. They belong to Pakistan. The importation of food from abroad is a fundamental weakness of our national economy. A private citizen like myself simply reels on his legs when he is told that as much as twenty-five per cent of the total of Central revenues has been consumed in the first six months of the year 1947 to make good a deficit of only three per cent of the indigenous production. We want more food and better food. We want increased production. For this purpose the resources of our national governments, both at the Centre and the Provinces, must be fully utilized. The services of our scientists and economists must be extended.

Partition of India has given birth to a second important problem—the problem of refugees. This great problem has spread over the green fields of

India like molten lava. The problem is vast, its implications complex, its solution almost baffling. More than four millions of people have been uprooted from the soil, their homes, their callings, their professions. They have lost, in most cases, all their earthly belongings. They have been subjected to most intense suffering, both physical and mental, and brutalities almost unknown to civilized life. The question of providing them with immediate relief taxes the ingenuity of our administrators. It makes a large drain upon the Central revenues. The perpetual maintenance of immigrants in refugee-camps is neither possible nor desirable. The whole of our national economy is bound to collapse under the heavy strain. A carefully thought out rehabilitation plan is immediately necessary so that these refugees, instead of labouring under a sense of frustration and disappointment, may become useful assets to society. It will be difficult to assess the loss suffered by individuals in respect of property, movable and immovable, or in respect of their trade, profession or calling. A very long time will indeed run before losses can be evaluated, claims can be registered. The rehabilitation plans for these refugees must include provision for immediate relief in the form of food supply, clothing, shelter and medical aid. Interim assistance must be given for setting the refugees up in life with a view to the ultimate absorption in normal trade, profession and callings.

The refugees readily fall into two broad divisions —agriculturists and non-agriculturists. The rehabilitation of agriculturists offers a simpler problem than the rehabilitation of non-agriculturists. Even in their case, re-settlement on land is strewn with complexities baffling alike to imagination and the execution of plans. Land is short. Transplantation into unknown areas with different soil conditions

and charateristics and different irrigation systems will require months and years of patient toil and broad vision. The problem of resettling non-agriculturists belonging to different trades, professions and callings, is a still more complex problem. It cannot be solved by the Government at the Centre without your help and without the help of private enterprise. Much has been done. More must be done. I am not unmindful of the fact that the refugee problem which has arisen in India due to partition is a problem which has no parallel in record of history. Wanderings of the nations seen through the mist of time melt away before this great problem in front of us.

The subjects you have chosen for your consideration and discussion on this occasion of the Conference relate to important economic interests of India. The problem of agricultural labour in our country calls for urgent solution. Labour cut adrift from the effete survivals of age-worn feudalism requires the sympathy and the support of the citizens at large and the consideration of the State. No labour laws safeguard their interest. Their standard of living beggars description. They are yet resentful, distrustful. Indeed our knowlege about their conditions of life is limited. A well-organized statistical department and the co-operation of our teachers and students in the Universities may supply the necessary data to the State. I commend the suggestion to you and to the Universities. The task will be Herculean. It will constitute a great social effort.

India's post-war commercial policy in her new political set-up is, to my mind, a most important problem of the day. You will no doubt consider what will be the effects of India's acceptance of the membership of the International Trade Organisation. In the matter of tariff negotiations which have been conducted by our Government with other countries,

the interests of our national economy and our undeveloped industries have been taken into account. You might, through your deliberations, offer suggestions for clear-cut principles within the framework of which trade agreements should be reached.

The third subject for your discussion and deliberations is the question of cheap money. Every belligerent country, soaked in World War No. 2, has pursued with vigour the policy of cheap money. Can the policy of cheap money of the war years be projected into the sphere of post-war economy is an important problem for your solution. To my mind, the continuation of cheap money policy in India of the future raises complex issues. Cheap money policy may help to expand the borrowing capacity of Governments and may stimulate private investment. The question is whether in its practical application the pace of its progress would not be limited by the peculiar economic structure of different countries. Would it be wise to pursue this policy in backward countries with loosely knit economies like ours to the same indefinite extent as in advanced countries having highly integrated economies ? Can we ignore the reaction of the cheap money policy upon our country's stock exchanges and the prevailing forces of inflation ? Universities in India, and ours in particular, have watched with sorrow the effect of the cheap money policy on our invested funds. I am afraid, I am trespassing into domains not my own.

May I tell you how very glad we are all to find you in our midst ? I am sure you will enjoy your short stay in this great city of ours. I offer my heartiest welcome to Dr. P. S. Lokanathan into the presidential chair of this session. Dr. Lokanathan is one of the foremost economists of our times.

His distinction in more spheres than one requires no words of comment or commendation from an humble student like myself. He richly deserves the signal honour you have done to him.

Ladies and gentlemen, I hope your deliberations will bring victory and greater victory to our beloved motherland.

Jai Hind !

ADDRESS*

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

P. S. LOKANATHAN,

President, 30th Session of Indian Economic Conference.

My first duty is to thank my fellow economists and members of the Indian Economic Association for the honour they have done me in electing me as its President, thereby conferring upon me the privilege of presiding over one of the most momentous sessions of the Economic Conference.

Since we last met at Karachi the most significant and outstanding event has been the freedom of India and its division into two separate sovereign states. The political and economic consequences of the division cannot be analysed with any sense of certitude for there are many uncertain factors and imponderables entering into the matter. But we must predicate our studies on the basis of two friendly sister countries, like Canada and the U.S.A. Any other premise would not only be pessimistic but in the long run wholly untenable ; the condition of their living separately is their living in amity and accord. They cannot afford to follow a policy of defence aimed against each other. Political division should not also imply necessarily economic fragmentation, although it is inevitable that each country should pursue economic policies designed to promote what it regards as its own interests. Even a cursory examination of the effects of partition on the resources of the two countries cannot but lead to the conclusion that unless the economies of the two are integrated and allowed to function in a complementary manner there will

* Delivered at the 30th Session of Indian Economic Conference, held at the Senate House, University of Calcutta, on 22nd December, 1947.

be grave difficulties for both. From the immediate and purely strategic point of view the Dominion of India may appear to be the weaker of the two. Its dependence on Pakistan for food, raw cotton and raw jute and certain other raw materials and its adverse trade balance may place her, in the eyes of all superficial observers, mostly foreign, in a vulnerable position. On the other hand, Pakistan's dependence on the Dominion of India for coal, tea, textiles and indeed many kinds of manufactured goods is at least equally great. When the immediate world shortages pass away, the relative position of the two countries may and will change. Their mutual dependence, both in times of prosperity and adversity is so close that statesmanship and wisdom dictate the adoption by both of a sensible economic policy based on co-operation in the economic field. But whatever be the degree of inter-governmental co-operation in the economic field, some realignment of economic policies is bound to occur. The Dominion of India will certainly have to divert part of its resources to build up her agricultural strength ; Pakistan will have to build up her industrial potential. But there is no reason why these different economic programmes should not be pursued in an environment of friendliness and co-operation built on enlightened self-interest. The cutting off the nose to spite the face policy would be both extremely foolish and unpractical.

I do not propose to touch on the unprecedented and almost cataclysmic migrations of population which have occurred in the wake of partition. The difficult problems of placing these hundreds of thousands of families and finding them suitable places to settle in and suitable vocations, are being tackled in a most admirable way against tremendous odds, and I can only hope that after a painful period of dislocation and distress, resettlement and re-

habilitation of the emigrants will have been accomplished. I am glad that this and several other related problems arising out of partition, including the migration of capital, of businesses and other assets will be discussed at one of the sessions of this conference.

More than two years have elapsed since the war ended; yet the process of rehabilitation and recovery has been painfully and unexpectedly slow all over the world and more particularly in Asia and the Far East in which we are particularly interested. The termination of the war, it was expected, would result in a heavy decline in monetary outlay and a serious fall in employment and prices was anticipated; and precautionary measures were kept in readiness against such contingencies. Events have proved this analysis to be somewhat incorrect and incomplete. Some decline in employment has undoubtedly occurred in a disguised form, but inflationary conditions are persisting in a more or less acute form all over Asia and the Far East. In China, due to peculiar conditions, aggravated by eight years of war followed by a continuing state of civil war, inflation has taken a dangerous and fantastic form. In India, contrary to expectations, prices are still rising and there does not seem to be an immediate prospect of decline. Conditions are worse in other parts of Asia. The belief that what was required was only the reconstruction and building up of factories, mines, railways and other specific productive facilities was too naive and did not take account of the utter and prolonged disruptions of the entire economies of the countries ravaged by the war. Apart from the dislocation of productive mechanisms, political conflicts and dislocation of the administrative and governmental machinery have aggravated the situation. The result

is that in no country in Asia has rehabilitation and recovery taken any forward step.

Even in India where the direct war damage was inconsiderable, production has not reached the best war levels. The loss of livestock has caused an impoverishment in the animal power required for agriculture, while the difficulties in replacing and increasing the supply of agricultural implements have resulted in inefficient cultivation. The shortage of fertilizers has continued to restrict the increase in agricultural production despite the energetic efforts that have marked the GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN. The continued expenditure of from Rs. 75 to 100 crores of foreign exchange on food imports alone, as has happened since 1945, is a dangerous portent pointing to the urgency of agricultural reconstruction. There has been a definite set back from the industrial progress achieved during the war on account of the unexpected difficulties experienced in the importation of necessary plant and machinery for replacement and reconstruction. The decline in industrial production, particularly in coal and power, and the slow rehabilitation of transport are not to be explained solely in terms of import bottlenecks. Labour unrest and political preoccupation have aggravated the situation.

Chinese economy, subject to the severe strain of a prolonged war, not only has not made any recovery since the termination of hostilities, but conditions have deteriorated seriously as a result of the continuance of the civil war. Despite the considerable efforts of UNRRA to rehabilitate agriculture and transport, food and fish production have not reached pre-war capacity. Transport, inadequate and ill-equipped even in normal times, has suffered further deterioration. Roads have been neglected and the destruction of railways and rolling stock has yet to be made good. Coal capacity is

yet only 45 per cent of the pre-war level, while other industrial output ranges from 50 to 60 per cent. Worse is the situation in Indonesia, where numerous plantations destroyed during the war have yet to be brought back to cultivation. The scorched earth policy led to the destruction of productive facilities which the continuing disturbed political conditions have rendered it hard to restore. The extensive damage to transport in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines and other countries in the region has not yet been repaired. Tin mines and petroleum refineries have yet to be re-opened. Even the Philippine Republic, more fortunately placed in its possession of foreign exchange resources, has not made much headway in rebuilding its textile factories and saw mills and sugar works. The general picture is gravely disturbing. Over a region where more than a thousand million of the world's population live, rehabilitation and recovery have been so slow that the peoples are forced into near-starvation and continuing distress.

The causes of such a painfully slow process are many and vary in their significance and effects. But a high place must be assigned to the political factors which undoubtedly have affected the economic situation. The war ended two years ago; but peace is, or has been, very far from this region. Over the greater part of the region there have been great political upheavals and the transition from colonial status to freedom is in process and not completed. Even where, as in India, the handing over of power was accomplished without excessive friction, the transfer was attended by serious internal disorders. In other parts of the region there has existed a state of semi-war. The hostilities in Indonesia have not yet subsided; Indonesia is still in forment; in Siam political changes have been effected by a *coup d'état*. Burma is not quite free

from insecurity and instability, while in Indonesia and the Philippines and certain other countries, travel is attended by personal danger. China is rent into two by the growing power of the Communists, and the civil war has shown no sign of decline. In the face of such conditions it would be idle to expect any concrete policies and programmes to crystallize as a basis for action. Not until some degree of stability is attained can the process of economic reconstruction and recovery get a real start.

The war has caused also such disruptions to previously existing patterns of trade and economy that it will take a long time indeed for reconstruction to be completed. Even were other conditions favourable, the economic changes brought about partly by the war and partly by technology would have rendered any simple process of rehabilitation not easy or smooth. The rubber economy of Ceylon, Malaya and Indonesia has been seriously affected by the rise of synthetic rubber industry supported by the defence policies of certain governments and calls for a change in their agricultural and industrial economies. The single crop type of culture, or rather the extremely narrow-based agricultural export economy characteristic of a large portion of this area, has revealed danger spots which only a system of multi-culture and a more balanced and diversified economy can remove. It is a mad economic policy which would place millions of lives at the mercy of an export trade for their daily bread; yet millions of poor people have been compelled by this economy to grow rubber and mine tin while their rice supply has to depend on imports. To some extent this is inevitable as the land is not suitable for cereal cultivation but it is certainly possible, given sustained efforts, to reduce this excessive dependence on food imports. The fading out of Japan from the

economic map of Asia at least for some time, has been another factor rendering reconstruction painfully slow. Japan's place cannot be taken by any Western country; only the Asian countries can fill the void if it can be filled at all. But in turn the recovery of these countries is held up by the lack of goods which Japan was supplying before the war. The interdependence of Japan and the rest of Asian economy may be seen clearly from the fact that Japan imported 40 per cent of her requirements from Asia and exported 52 per cent of her exports to Asia; and she was the fourth largest exporting country before the war. Some countries like Korea, Formosa, Netherlands, East Indies and Siam depended upon Japan for most of their textile requirements. The changed position of Korea, Manchuria and Formosa which have been liberated from Japan's political grip, has created new problems of trade and industrial alignment which it would take years to solve satisfactorily.

Another major factor explaining the retardation in the process of recovery is the deterioration in the economic position of the countries on which the economies of a large portion of this area were dependent. Those countries were not merely the markets for the products of this region, but were the main suppliers of capital. British, French and Dutch capital flowed into Malaya, Indo-china and Netherlands (among other countries) and was responsible for the building up of such industrial systems as existed in these countries. The war has reduced the capacity of these countries to supply capital. The financial position of these Metropolitan countries has become vulnerable, thus preventing them from playing a striking role in the rehabilitation of the Far East.

Above all, the slow recovery of Europe and in general of the rest of the world has had its counter-

part in the East. Before the war Europe obtained 46 per cent of her total imports from other continents; primarily an importer of foodstuffs and raw materials, Europe provided one of the most important markets for those commodities. On the other hand, Europe's exports of manufactured goods in 1937 was twice that of the rest of the world. As long as European economy continues to be in a perilous state, the deleterious effects on the economy of the countries of the Far East are bound to be serious.

Recognition of the importance of the economic reconstruction of Europe to the stability and prosperity of the world in general has to some extent led to excessive preoccupation with the problems of European recovery at the expense of attention to the reconstruction of Asian economy. The rehabilitation of Asian economy instead of being regarded as an end to be directly reached is looked upon as a desirable by-product or an aftermath. The Marshall Aid to Europe is in its generosity and bold sweep only excelled by the lend-lease agreements of the war period. A straight gift of nearly three and a half billion dollars is contemplated; in terms of capital equipment, tools and plant and in consumers' goods, it represents the use of hundreds of thousand tons of physical output. But there is no corresponding offer to the countries of the Far East which need it even more urgently than Europe. Not only is there no sign or prospect of any such aid coming from America, but recent pronouncements by responsible authorities speaking on behalf of the U.S. Government have thrown cold water on any such expectations. The U.S. Delegate to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East went so far as to point to the dangers of external aid and asked for determined self-help on the part of the governments of these countries. To quote his words, " Dependence on foreign aid over a

protracted period may be definitely harmful through discouraging national initiative, trade and other pre-requisites to a realization of a healthy independent economy. It will be in the interest of all to create as expeditiously as possible self-supporting economic conditions deriving from greatly augmented production and a revitalized and expanding foreign trade."

If no large scale American aid may be expected still less is there any immediate prospect of large loans from the International Bank or from private sources. The flow of private capital has not yet started. The Bank has up to now given emphasis only to the problems of European recovery. In the second report to the Board of Governors the reasons for the somewhat exclusive attention have been set out in some detail and are worth recording. Says the report..." In Europe the need for assistance in repairing the devastation caused by the war is urgent. There too the productive capacity and skills already exist ; to put them to work by furnishing the necessary new machinery and replacement equipment and the necessary stocks of fuel and materials presents a great and immediate opportunity to raise the level of world output. Moreover, restoration of the productive capacity of Europe will have prompt and important consequences on the expansion of the economies of other regions." This reads almost like special pleading, though it contains a substantial element of truth. The stricture which President Roxas of the Philippine Republic passed in his opening address to the second session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East apropos of the neglect of Asia by America might apply equally to the Bank .." This seeming injustice will leave in the hearts of the peoples of Asia unanswered the persistent and intriguing questions—whether the one world concept

is limited to the nations of Europe and the Western Hemisphere; whether the generosity or altruism of the great powers have a colour mark upon it." Yet it would be wrong to lay the whole blame upon the Bank because for one thing the countries of Asia and the Far East have so far not sought any aid from the Bank. On the other hand, European countries have been able to define their reconstruction needs in some precision and submit their applications. The limitations set by the Banks' loanable resources should not be overlooked. Its loanable funds total only 500 million dollars and any further funds must for the present be borrowed from American investors who are proverbially conservative in their foreign investment and have to be specially convinced that the Bank would grant only financially sound, economically valid and productive loans. But even if the Bank could acquire greater lending resources it would still be beyond its capacity to attempt to finance the whole job of reconstruction and development of the world. The Bank's role is, as one writer observed, only that of a trailblazer for private capital.

Another legitimate factor influencing the Bank's policy of investment is the existence or prospective attainment of economic stability in the borrowing country. It is only fair that countries asking for credits should themselves be willing to take effective measures to strengthen their finances, curb inflation and stabilize their currencies. Not many of the countries in the Far East can at the present time satisfy these essential conditions fully.

Nevertheless, allowing for all the limitations under which it has to function it is legitimate to enquire if the high expectations entertained of its role could ever be fulfilled. It will be recalled that by the terms of its Charter the Bank has among its purposes (*i*) the stimulation of the free flow of

private capital; (*ii*) assistance in repairing war damage, and (*iii*) help in the economic development of backward and less developed areas. It may be that at Bretton Woods when the terms of the Charter were spelled out the complexity and enormousness of the post-war reconstruction needs were only imperfectly visualized; but it is clear that in the light of present day needs, the conception of its functions and the adequacy of its resources have to be examined afresh. There is an inevitable conflict between its role as a provider of financial aid to repair war damage and promote reconstruction and development and its role as an intermediary between private capitalists and financially sound investment opportunities. It is not surprising in the circumstances that the Bank's emphasis has been laid a little too strongly on financing specific projects requiring limited outlay and likely to improve the external payments position of the applicants. The time has perhaps come to examine whether Asia's financial needs do not require a reconsideration of the Bank's rigid rules relating to the granting of loans. It may be that a more practical line of action would be either in setting aside a certain proportion of its resources for employment in Asia or perhaps in devising a special agency or subsidiary body under the Bank to take care of Asian reconstruction needs. To this subsidiary body large gifts of funds should be allotted by richer countries like U.S.A., Canada and Britain and some of the Asian countries and Australia might also contribute a little share. For the urgency of Asian reconstruction needs cannot be doubted. It would be wrong and serious if the belief gains ground that Asia and the Far East can wait until Europe is set on her feet. The expansionary effects of European recovery on Asia and the Far East are fully recognized; but it would be a tragedy if during the

next four or five years when European recovery is being attended to, Asia is left to fend for herself without active assistance.

Fortunately signs of the recognition of the pressing needs of Asia are clearly visible. The Bank is increasingly conscious of its responsibilities towards Asian reconstruction and is arranging for the setting up of an office in China. Meanwhile investigations are proceeding by the officials of the Bank which will ultimately result in substantial assistance. In any case it must be clearly recognised that the Bank cannot do the whole job; the major effort in the reconstruction or development of any nation must be made by the government and peoples of that nation.

That takes me on to the main point which I should like to urge. The solution of many of the Asian problems cannot be looked for to outside countries or external agencies. The establishment of an Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East is an explicit recognition on the part of the United Nations that with an international framework there is a large place for regional bodies and that some of the economic problems could be more effectively handled through regional co-operation and on a regional basis. The holding of the Asian Labour Conference in New Delhi by ILO, the proposed establishment of a regional office by the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and the proposal to set up a regional headquarters in Asia by the United Nations, reinforce the regional approach to political and economic questions. Regional self-help does not in any sense exclude outside aid or application of international treatment, but the organization of the resources, capital and manpower within the vast region of Asia can do far more than external aid can do for the promotion of economic development. Asia's capital resources are

admittedly unequal to the heavy demands on them ; nor is Asia in a position to do without foreign technical skills and expert assistance. But the opportunities for regional co-operation in canalyzing existing resources and facilities for production are vast. In the sphere of technical training, for example, facilities can be created by one country which would be open to the nationals of other countries in the region. India has a special responsibility in this matter. Our vast experience in irrigation and hydro-electric works, in agriculture and livestock research, in textiles and steel works and in a number of other industries should be made available and placed at the disposal of the peoples of the Far East.

Similarly, in our engineering and high-grade technological institutions as well as in the agriculture, veterinary, medical and sanitary science colleges and institutions, places may be reserved and facilities provided for the training of young men from other countries of Asia. Efforts could also be made to get the services of technical experts for several countries on a joint and co-operative basis. Programmes of development should be planned wherever possible in such a way that undue duplication of efforts and waste of resources are avoided.

But the essential condition of speedy rehabilitation is to establish and maintain stable political and economic conditions, without which progress will not be possible. Inflation not only causes grave social disturbances and disrupts the previously existing relationships between income groups but affects production adversely and distorts it.

The condition of the Chinese peasantry caused by the disruption of the normal price relationship between food and raw materials on the one hand and manufactured products on the other, is not

only a grave social disaster but is likely to bring about a breakdown of the economic system by the removal of every incentive to produce more than their own domestic consumption requirements. The results of hyper-inflation have also brought about a preference for occupations other than civil servants and teaching, while those who stay are exposed to the severest temptation of supplementing their exiguous means in improper ways. Yet most of these countries find that owing to one reason or another they are unable to control the volume of expenditure. Even in India where on the whole the inflationary pressures have been sought to be held in check, the enormous increase in Government expenditure on account of the disturbances and resettlement has rendered migratory all efforts to curb inflation. Elsewhere very little has yet been attempted to check the mounting scale of public and private expenditure. In some countries inflation has led to a practical abandonment of all controls, has undermined confidence, and has led to a flight of capital. For example, the amount of capital held by Chinese nationals in U.S.A. is believed to be of the order of one billion U.S. dollars and no wonder that in such circumstances foreign capital hesitates to flow into China. Not unless more effective measures are taken to curb the inflationary pressures in operation in most parts of this region can quick and satisfactory rehabilitation and recovery be hoped for. In this connection it may be pointed out that the International Monetary Fund stands ready to offer expert assistance to Member countries in the field of monetary exchange, balance of payments and related problems. The Fund has already given advice and sent missions, formal and informal, to a number of countries and its services can be of great help to the development of countries.

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Given some degree of economic stability, the most essential thing is to try to remove the bottlenecks that hamper production. In this context it may be advisable to readjust our thinking in regard to overall planning. Quicker and more fruitful results may be achieved by concentrating on specific projects of reasonable magnitude whose productive value is definitely clear and ascertainable and which for this reason are sure to improve the general economic situation within a short period. For such projects foreign capital may easily become available and recourse to the Bank would be more appropriate. Indeed, the planners of finance will be wise if they divide their projects into public utilities and commercial projects and try to finance the former wholly through foreign loans, leaving the normal foreign exchange earnings for the latter type. A number of provincial governments in India which have numerous productive schemes of large capital outlay, may with confidence and success secure foreign loans, releasing thereby foreign exchange resources for other less saleable propositions.

In any plan of reconstruction for Asia, food and agriculture have to be assigned a high priority. It is a pathetic irony that these countries struggling to become free from the incubus of excessive dependence on agriculture are once again, by the compulsion of economic factors, compelled to face their agricultural needs as a first priority. Yet the apparent paradox appears when one recognises that what is wrong with these countries is not so much their dependence on agriculture or the absence of industries as that both their agriculture and industry are primitive and unorganized. Modernization of agriculture and industry by the use of scientific knowledge and technique is the fundamental need. In the sphere of providing technical skill and scientific knowledge the United States Government can play,

if it likes, a very useful and effective role. The supply of free expert assistance for the planning, mapping out, and preparing the blue prints for the agricultural and industrial programmes in the countries of this region could be undertaken without excessive burden by the United States. It would be the one sure way of assisting the poorer and technically weaker countries without doing any harm either to the supplying country or to the receiving countries. During the war a number of technical missions rendered invaluable service in promoting projects designed for the purposes of the war. There is no reason why the principle should not be extended during peace time.

As one looks at the situation in Asia, one cannot but be pessimistic over the immediate prospects of speedy recovery in this region. The obstacles are serious and numerous; the material and psychological factors hampering expansion of production still continue to operate. Political and economic stability has yet to be attained. In the meanwhile children are born and the pressure of population on available resources grows apace. Even to catch up with the increased demands on production and to maintain only the existing levels of consumption requires the earnest and sustained efforts of all the peoples. The situation calls for action, bold and urgent; it is to be hoped that it will be forthcoming.

In recent years the calls on economists for various purposes have been large and insistent in nearly every country of the world, and India is no exception. Unfortunately, unlike some countries like the United States, Britain and Canada, the supply of economists in India has been limited, and universities have so far failed to take note of the changed circumstances. The staffing of economic departments by just three of four teachers, some of whom drawn away to other avocations, has

impaired the efficiency of teaching and research. The normal flow of competent economists has been damned with damaging consequences. There has been in recent years in India as elsewhere an unfortunate tendency to magnify the importance of science at the expense of the humanities. While no one would underrate the role of science in the welfare of mankind, it is for consideration whether the neglect of humanity, which has gone on for some years now, has not already brought about an ill-balance in the world. The ultimate problems of the world are not purely physical; they are social and human. If the sad state of affairs is allowed to continue without immediate reversal, we shall have to pay a heavy price indeed. The physical devastation caused by the war is well recognized, but the damage of a non-material kind in the sphere of learning, studies and thought at schools and universities, the set back to the normal expansion of social services and the general impoverishment of the peoples in the sphere of arts and letters have been even more grave.

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ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

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ANANDA COOMARASWAMY was not a very widely known name in India though what he did to place India in true perspective before the world was immeasurable. To critics of Indian art he was the master scholar, to philosophers a guide to intricate problems, to linguists a man well posted in about a dozen languages, to professional writers a man weilding the most facile pen. But above all he was a true son of mother India. By a self appointed mission he took upon himself the duty of interpreting the art and culture of his country to the world.

At the time of his death at Boston in Massachusetts State of America at the age of seventy, the shortly retired savant was contemplating returning back to India to spend his remaining span of life in the Asrama of Vanaprastha and Sannyasa as an unknown recluse somewhere in some inaccessible fold of the Himalayas. His death marked the end of an eventful career, a life devoted to work endurance and scholarship and above all a mystic who had been trying to see things through the third eye of perception. Born on 22nd August, 1877, at Ceylon of an Indian father and an English mother Ananda was educated in England; he took his Doctorate Degree in Geology from the University of London. His father Sir Muthu Commaraswamy, who was one of the first Indians to go to England and to be called to the bar was intimately known to the London circles of his age.

He died at Colombo where he was practising when Ananda was barely two years old. His mother, who was a lady of high taste and wide culture reared him up in England from where he returned to Ceylon at the age of twenty-five as the Director of Mineralogical Survey of that island.

Already he had been contributing to journals of standard. While serving in Ceylon he came in close and intimate touch with the country and its peoples and developed a profound sympathy for both. He also discovered the connection between men and the crafts they pursue or admire. In doing so he came to know of inner complex of art and its connection with the human life. He made a wide collection of objects de art from the countryside of Ceylon and the entire sphere of his study and inquisitive research shifted from lifeless geological objects to the living arts and crafts of the country which appealed to him more. In studying the crafts of the country he found that the inherent qualities of the people get reflected in those in colour. A philosopher was born. This young Indian inspite of his English maternity and education became strongly alive to the vain invitation of westernism which had been very widely practised among the Singhalese of that age and vehemently protested against it.

With the help of the collection he made in Ceylon and what he had seen in course of his tours Ananda Coomaraswamy wrote his first magnum opus, Mediaeval Singhalese Art, which remains a classic in the field. In succession to this book Coomaraswamy has written an enormous bulk of literature collecting, collating and publishing in an inexhaustible stream materials relating to art, archaeology, philosophy and literature of India till his pen was immobilised by death.

Too very well known as the battle ground of nations the west has also proved itself to be a battle ground of ideas. Since the renaissance the Spirit of Europe is trying to reach a state where things may be valued and weighed in a purely scientific scale. The same functional criticism is levelled at every aspect of life past and present, a true and balanced evaluation of which may lead to the formation of a sound future. But in doing the same the west has also grossly betrayed the utter incapacity on the part of man of attaining a perfect balance. Attempts in the political field have led to ultimate chaos and devastation. The world of ideas in finding fresh avenues has lost its way in blind alley. It may be that the west is drawing headlong towards the abyss. In this world torn by unbalanced idiosyn-

cracies the voice of Coomaraswamy though little heard, was one based on strong common sense, and a stout realism.

There was an age when people of the west thought that salvation was as it were a monopoly of their own. They were the spiritual descendants of Greece and the vision once indicated by the masters of Hellenic world defies all comparison. All thoughts of human mind and all acts of human creation needed evaluation by the standards set up by that infallible criterion. Perched on the top of a citadel the European critics have viewed the world with calculated disconcern.

On the other hand is rising in the west and imitated elsewhere another set of ideas which want to reassess the whole integral values of the world under a new precept. According to these ideas civilisation and art in the past have been produced by a limited section of people who had monopolised the fruits thereof by their social and economic domination of the masses. And as such civilisation and art in the past bore the stamp of a particular class of people who had flourished on the economic exploitation of the ordinary folk and hence need to be reassessed from the point of the common man whose reactions are different from the reaction of those who were responsible for the art and culture in the past.

Dr. Coomaraswamy appeared before the world of western scholars with his challenge on behalf of the inscrutability of the Indian art. The west began to admire Indian art mainly due to the enthusiasm of Havel but Coomaraswamy established the worth of Indian art on solid foundation. He for the first time presented the world with the Indian view of art and invited Indians also to view and appreciate art not from sentimental or nationalistic point of view but because it bears closest relationship with life and thought of this country. And as he had taken great pains to show, by churning a great ocean of learning contained in the Sastras, or the sacred scripture of the Hindus, the art of this country has only been a vehicle for the attainment within the scope of realisation the mirror of the unattainable and the unrealisable perception.

Since the publication of his first volume of work on Ceylonese art Coomaraswamy had been systematically exploring the avenues of Indian art and studying it on a comparative basis with the arts of other countries. In doing so he for himself had attained a learning of encyclopaedic character, mastery over a number of languages and a serene wisdom of highly elevated type. His extensive quest for knowledge revealed unto him the bisic harmony of the human mind

and its uniformity in expression. He had shown in his writings how the classical and mediaeval mind in the east as well as in the west tried to reach the same goal though their ways of approach were different.

Recently he was coming in contact with new ideas reassessing the values of life from a standpoint different from that which had so long been ruling in the west. This jarring note in the field of western scholarship did not escape the profundity of his sensible mind. Though he had never entered into any controversy with these new exponents of the old world but the reaction of his national mind can be easily felt from his latest writings. In his life's work he has most aptly shown how art transcends all barriers of class, creed and nationalities; how human mind is fundamentally one and craves for harmony of action, and how artists or more appropriately according to Coomaraswamy the craftsmen, have all along been working to feed that symphony of eternal human mind thirsting after communion with the transcendental beauty of the world.

If living for yet another span of time he might have given us a more clear lead towards appreciation of works of art and use thereof. But nevertheless what he had accomplished in his life time will burn as an undying lamp giving light to those searching after truth and a real perspective for the true assessment of art and life dedicated.

NEW HUMANISM AND WORLD PROSPERITY

PROF. B. S. MATHUR, M.A., B.A. (HONS.)
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Mr. M. N. ROY is an intellectual thinker of eminence. At times people put a plain question to know what Mr. Roy is doing when India is involved in a ceaseless struggle for existence and mounting prosperity. My answer is that he is a constant thinker and is thinking not only to free India of poverty but he is ever active in the cause of humanity in general. To him every moment is lost if it is not devoted to real and constructive thinking.

The world in spite of the official cessation of war is still heading towards a catastrophe ; the clouds of frustration are over all of us in ever deepening intensity. In his new book entitled " New Humanism " Mr. Roy writes :

' One does not require a very high degree of imaginativeness to realise that another world war will have the most disastrous consequences, most probably amounting to a complete breakdown of modern civilisation. The greatest posible efforts must be made to head off that threatening catastrophe. The object can be attained only by replacing antiquated political doctrines and theoretical postulates about a utopia which history has mercilessly exploded. Neither the so-called western democracy nor Russian Communism can head off another war, towards which the world is drifting, as it were by fate. None of the rivals provides a sufficiently inspiring leadership, capable of taking the contemporary world out of the crisis.'

Mr. Roy is against stagnation of any sort. He is a tremendous revolutionary and he seems to suggest a bold adventure into future based on reading of history and experience. He is not to take things lying down, believing in the urgency and over-powering nature of Fate. He is, and he wishes others to be, in possession of the destiny by constructive thinking and action. Fatalism is a doctrine of the ignorant. Mere sitting is nothing but stagnation. Real and lasting peace must be based on a process of destruction and construction in succession. And so he is *out* to give up what has not given us thus

far liberation and he is *out* to have some new principle and programme. Call that " New Humanism."

There are many, and not without justification, who regard him as a destructive thinker because he seems to believe in nothing that is the gift of history as thus far written. I have added " As thus far written " because Mr. Roy wants a new orientation of history. To him history cannot be anything but science governed by rules of society. Imagination or patriotism has no meaning in an historian of his mind. As such it may be added that Mr. Roy seems to go against history. Else he is taking direct lessons from history and experience. If one were to be honest in one's expression of an opinion one will unhesitatingly declare him to be a rationalist and a scientist. His laboratory is society itself and there he is experimenting. Naturally he cannot take anything for granted. Naturally he must seem to be merely destructive, against all that has come down us as the gift of the past. There is one more reason for a challenging attitude in his writings. We have admitted he is a tremendous revolutionary and so he cannot but think afresh. Indeed, he wants all of us to be thinkers and then alone it will be possible to possess New Humanism and new Brave World of happiness and comfort and freedom. Little wonder he writes :

' To begin with, the voice of reason must be raised, warning the progressive world against the different varieties of orthodoxy and blind passion, which are creating an atmosphere of stark madness. It is singularly thoughtless and almost criminally irresponsible to take the fatalistic view that yet another war is inevitable, and to hold that it will finally dissolve the old world and clear the ground for a new.'

Here is a condemnation of a life of mere emotions and passions. Reason must come into its own, a position of sovereign sway over man's thought and action. Else there will be a return to the beginning, the animal and the brute in us. And that will be enough room for pure fatalism—our belief in a new war for the extinction of the present civilisation. That is madness. Why not avoid the catastrophe ? Hence this book on " New Humanism " [1] by M. N. Roy, embodying a new doctrine born of synthesis, pledged to take the world out of present frustration and chaos.

[1] New Humanism By M. N. Roy : A Renaissance Publication, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

The present frustration and chaos is in consequence of 'absence of a common code of behaviour and standard of values.' Mr. Roy is thinking in terms of co-operation born of a common code. Is it not too much to think in this fashion? Will it be possible for the world in near future to think in these terms for world co-operation? Mr. Roy's answer is *yes*. He writes that 'the store of cultural values piled up since the dawn of civilisation is far from being exhausted. The precious heritage of the past provides a solid foundation of a magnificent structure of future, dreamt alike by revolutionaries and romanticists, utopians and idealists. If the germs of Socialism or Communism grew in the womb of the capitalist society, then, the inspiration for a truly liberating philosophy of the future should also be found in the moral and spiritual values of the so-called bourgeois culture.'

Here we have a modernist and a progressive speaking in crystal clear words for the redemption of mankind. The redemption is to be sought in a happy synthesis. Hope has to be eternal in us; with hope and labour as a consequence of it we can utilise the past and the present for the evolution of a happy future, based on the happiness of the common people, all over the world. There are some who think of Roy as a pure materialist. I think that thought is unhistorical. To Roy morality and ethics are inseparably connected with progress in society. They cannot be considered static in their meaning and application. They have to move with times. They have to be guided by progress in society. If morality and ethics are governed by society the individuals are bound to prosper from happiness to happiness. This is a clear indication of a synthesis. Materialism, standing for the material benefits of mankind, and spiritualism, advocating a common code of behaviour, from pole to pole, throughout the universe, have to unite in the evolution of new humanism. So it is not wrong to think that the seeds of future are in the womb of the present; there will be order out of present chaos and conflicts. That is Mr. Roy's hope. The new society has to be perfectly progressive in the sense it will be governed by the consideration of the progress of the individual according to his natural inclinations. This idea of *individual progress* in society is based on an intense study of human psychology. Instincts or natural inclinations cannot be suppressed although they can be sublimated. Herein comes the part of the society as constituted by elders, known for their intelligence and experience and spirit. These elders guided by their reason,

experience and study of human behaviour have to lead society towards perfection. Their leadership will stand for progress in the right sense in the interests of both society and the individuals. The society is the human society all the world over, and the individuals are people of the world in general. Mr. Roy continues :

'Humanism is cosmopolitan. It does not run after the utopia of internationalism, which presupposes the existence of autonomous National States. The ideal of One World, or a World Government, is not compatible with the continuation of National States. The one makes of the other a pious desire or wishful thinking. A cosmopolitan commonwealth of free men and women is a possibility. It will be a spiritual community, not limited by the boundaries of National States—capitalist, fascist, communist or of any other kind —which will gradually disappear under the impact of cosmopolitan Humanism. That is the Radical perspective of the future of mankind.'

It is simply grand for Mr. Roy to have this faith, so strong and so perennial, in the unification of mankind on the basis of world cooperation. Perhaps, if I am not mistaken, it is Mr. Roy's faith in the eternal and the same essence of religions that is making him so hopeful ! Hence the world is going to be spiritual community. A spiritual community must be devoid of selfishness and vain ambition, two evils that lead to wars on large scales and permanently. Instead of the reign of selfishness and vain ambition there must be sure sway of ethics and morality over man and his thought and action. Is it not a Radical perspective of the future of mankind ?

What is going to be our future in the light of the spread of this kind of *new* Humanism ? Granted that this philosophy will soon have a concrete plan and programme, of which there may be many doubts, one can simply be happy about the future. Wars that disfigure our life, character and achievements will cease. The world will be a veritable garden of blossoming flowers, singing in rhythm and sweetness. An age of pure rationalism will dawn upon us, the world state working for the prosperity of the individuals and the individuals working for the prosperity of society as a whole and in general, throughout the world. Certainly a good idealism, demanding our immediate concentration !

Mr. Roy has suggested :

'What is suggested is not a rule of the "intellectual elite," but such an organisation of society as will give unlimited scope for the unfolding of the creative genius of man, by placing the executive

power of the State under the control of free individuals—free from the influence of vested interests and also from the vagaries of the collective ego, so very susceptible to demagogic appeals. Democratic practice should not be confined to periodical elections. Even if elections are by universal suffrage, and the executive is also elected, democracy will still remain a mere formality. Delegation of power, even for a limited period, stultifies democracy. Government for the people can never be fully a government of the people and by the people.'

Mr. Roy is planning to democratise present democracy, which is nothing but a delegation of power and as such a stultification of itself. How is this to be effected? Let there be local democracies and schools of philosophies, concentrating on politics and society. These local democracies and schools will produce an atmosphere of freedom and responsibility for the individuals and those who have been given powers to rule in the name of democracy. And so there will be freedom for the individual and responsibility to the individual on the part of the rulers, who are not necessarily mere intellectuals but definitely fired with an enthusiasm for democracy. They have to think of man as the measure of things. This is humanising politics. A great thing to achieve! Indeed! A new Renaissance is to be born in which rationalism, individualism and cosmopolitan Humanism are to combine.

We are indebted to Mr. Roy for this intellectual treat purporting to be a new philosophy to be translated into practice for the general liberation of mankind. Are we not entitled to ask him to give us a concrete plan to utilise this philosophy? It is up to him to give life to his own party for the enlightenment of humanity. Some might ask him to strive for a prominent place in active politics of the country. He occupies a prominent position as a political thinker. That is good and great. But it shall be still greater if he were to be an active leader. Let him leave intellectual heights to a certain extent to be a real leader. Intellectualism that oversways him should be charged practically and the result will be happy and lasting.

LECTURE*

PROFESSOR LUCIEN BRUMPT
Faculté de Medecine de Paris

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I particularly thank Prof. Benoy Sarkar who promoted the idea of this meeting. So it makes possible for me to carry to the University of Calcutta the friendly salutations and greetings of the University of Paris. Indeed great gurus, better known than I am, would have been more qualified to represent French Science. The only reason for which I was chosen is that I am specialized in parasitology and tropical diseases. This interest in exotic pathology was inherited from my father who taught me his methods from my very childhood, as well in his Paris laboratory as during our common journeys through Africa and tropical America.

Due to most unfortunate circumstances, it was not possible to my father to visit this country which nevertheless exercised a great attraction upon his mind. My father knows only Ceylon, where he discovered in 1935 the Plasmodium Gallinaceum which causes malaria. Afterwards that strain was handed over to his colleagues in Britain, Germany and America. So the Singhalese parasite went around the world and thanks to it English Scientists could experiment paludrine.

As to me, I came to India with the following goal :

First I wanted to fulfill my training in tropical medicine regarding conditions in Asia. Every morning I go to the Tropical School of Medicine, I believe that nowhere in the world are grouped together well equiped laboratories and modern hospitals, with specialists in any branch of tropical diseases and so huge a flow of patients.

Secondly I came to collect material for teaching and scientific research, as in France during the War, our collections were often reduced to nothing.

Thirdly I have been entrusted by the A. D. R. M. (Association for the Development of Medical Relations) for the establishment of a permanent contact between Indian and French doctors, such as already exists between France and many other countries in the World. I already met several great scientists in Bombay and here, and re-

* Delivered at the University of Calcutta

ceived many encouragements. The aim of this Association is for example to welcome in Paris Indian doctors when on visit, to help them for material details, and to make easier their contacts with French Scientists.

I should like especially to speak to-day about French research and recent medical discoveries. We had those last years, to overcome many hardships resulting from occupation. The hardest one was to have no scientific news from the rest of the world, and I believe that present scientific research cannot be conducted without a permanent knowledge of what is done elsewhere. Even such a country as the U.S.A. cannot work without any contact with the rest of the world, as well as in Science as in Economics. In spite of that our industry was working out prototypes for example of mortorcars; and we are able now to produce on commercial scale small cars with a low consumption of petrol and nevertheless comfortable and spesdy. In another field, the Compagnie Générale de T.S.F. caried on research on electromic microscope, and I visited myself the factory where they are nowadays produced on commercial scale. This tool renders valuable services, not only to medical research, but also for geology, botany, and steel, metal, rubber, cement, and refractories industries. I remind you that the principle of this apparatus is founded on the discovery made by Louis de Broglie on the ondulatory nature of the electron.

My friend, Professor de Traverse who is expected within a few days will be more qualified than I to speak about those questions of transcendental physics.

I apologize for that excursion into fields outside of medicine and now I shall speak about the organization of medical research in France.

Medical research in France is conducted :

First in the laboratories of the Faculty of Medicine which are also places of teaching ;

Secondly in the hospitals to which a laboratory is always joined ;

Thirdly in pure research institutes, of which the pattern is Pasteur Institute. But there are many others such as the Institute for Hygiene, the Cancer Institute and so forth.

Grants can be provided in four ways :

First by the State ; but there is a well established tradition that scientists must be poorly paid and that credits for laboratories must be insufficient, under the pretence that Pasteur made his main discoveries in a poor garret.

Secondly by the " National Centre for Scientific Research," which was started a few ten years ago. From this Center, medical research workers get a very little amount of money, as the most of it is devoted to Atomic research ; let us hope that medical science might one day benefit from those discoveries ;

Thirdly from private sources : there are no longer rich Frenchmen able to act as your Maharajas do. But I must have a special acknowledgment to the Rockfeller Foundation which has resumed after this war its generous help to scientific research. Our laboratory for parasitology has a special debt of gratitude towards this philanthropic organization ;

Fourthly the main industrial concerns for drugs have got their own laboratories and give grants to public laboratories for certain definite research. Our laboratory receives such a grant from Rhone-Poulene Specia for conducting research on the action of new drugs on avian malaria.

* * * *

Now what are the results of that organization for medical research ?

I am aware that a one sided propaganda shows France as a looted country, impoverished by war, rended by strikes and political fights, and unable to play her traditional leading part in world medical science.

I want to convince you that it is not true, and to explain you why French research works are coming so slowly to your country. Too few Indian medical men come to France, too few French medical men come to India ; a supplementary obstacle is the difference of languages, and so French works come to your knowledge through other channels, which only forget to quote the original source. I shall give you two examples : the synthetic antihistaminic drugs and the chloroquine.

1. You have probably heard about two drugs called Benadryl and Anthistine. But do you know that the antiallergic drugs were discovered in France ?

In 1937, Dr. Bovet and Miss Stanb while working in the Pasteur Institute found the antihistaminic action of various drugs belonging to the series of the phenoxy ethylamine and the ethylene diamines. But those drugs were too toxic. In 1940, Dr. Halpern, who worked in the Rhone Poulene Specia laboratory found the Antergan, and then with Dr. Bovet the Neoantergan more active and less toxic,

and at last a by product of the phenothiazine, the phenergan ; all those drugs give wonderful daily services in any case of allergy.

2. You probably know an anti-malarial drug called chloroquine. It is a quinolein compound. My friends Dr. Philippe Deccurt and Dr. Jean Schneider started experiments on this drug in 1940 in our Paris Laboratory. Dr. Schneider was conducting field work in Tunisia in 1943 and pointed out the value of this product to Colonel Dr. Standle, of the U. S. Army. As the American Medical Services were satisfied neither with their charged with impurities than our quinacrine, nor with their metachloridine, an ordinary sulfonamide, they started at once producing the chloroquine which came to you from America in 1945. On account of war conditions, it was impossible to produce in France on a commercial scale : nowadays we make it under the name of Nivaquine. That drug acts as well for preventing infection as for curing malaria. It does not make your skin yellow like atabrine ; it is more polyvalent than paludrine, for it has an action on Plasmodium vivax and Plasmodium Malariae.

Another interesting story is about Penicillin. We have no right to claim the discovery of that drug. On the contrary, I am glad to take this opportunity of a public homage of gratitude and respect to Sir Arthur Flemming, whose discovery permitted to aver death from thousands and thousands of human beings ; I only want to tell you what happened in France to penicillin.

After the liberation of our country in 1944, we had in France to create the industry for penicillin from the beginning. In such an occurence, rather than to fumble about and try to rediscover it, it is more economical both for time and money, to simply buy a license to produce the drug. Under such conditions, the Rhone Poulene firm bought the patent from the U.S.A. at a very high cost. Then they had hardly started establishing the scheme when a French chemist found out a technical simplification which allowed to produce a white crystallized penicillin absolutely pure, much easier to preserve even in tropical countries ; the producing cost was so low that it could have been a dangerous rival for the American penicillin even in the U.S.A. The Americans then bought this patent fromus at as high a price as they had sold it. Therefore we produce our penicillin without paying any royalty to the Americans.

The French contributions to the study of sulfonamides is far from being negligible. You know that Dr. Donagk, a German Scientist, worked out in 1935 the chlorhydrate de sulfamidocrysoidine called

Prontosil. But it was not understood at once why efficient " in vivo " was not so " in vitro." It could be foreseen that it was transformed with human organism, into another active substance. It is the great merit of Dr. Trefouel who, with his pupils Nitti and Bovet, showed that sulfamidocrysoidine was divided inside the body between Triaminobenzene, non efficient and sulfamilamide, which constitutes the nucleus, responsible for the bacteriostatic power.

From that very simple substance registered as 1162 F. which was isolated by the workers of the Pasteur Institute, chemists all over the world created thousands of compounds from sulfonamide. The award for Dr. Trefouël was to be appointed Director of the Pasteur Institute.

Amongst other discoveries made in the Pasteur Institute, which have proved valuable during those last years, I have to quote the B.C.G. and the anatoxius.

The B.C.G. so called from Dr. Guerin is a living vaccine ; it means that it is prepared from a non-virulent bacillus of tuberculosis. It is given per mouth to the babies within few days after birth development of that method was stopped once by the regrettable accident in Lübeck but it was known afterwards that the B.C.G. was not at all responsible for that most unfortunate occurrence. At present statistics and several years of experimentation have established the value of that process. The method is largely spreading abroad and I B.C.G. dry which is also prepared in Paris, is meant for tropical countries. Here, in India, where tuberculosis is one of the great social evils with no doubt the B.C.G. would be a great help.

Another great discovery is that of anatoxis Professor Ramon has found that a microbian toxintreated by formaldehyde at 4 per thousand dilution and placed in an incubator for a few weeks looses its toxic power but retains its antigenic power. So it was made compulsory in France to inoculate children with this diphtheritic anatoxin and the results were very satisfactory.

This last war has ascertained the value of the tetanic anatoxin. Made compulsory in the French Army, it was extended to all the Allied Forces and during the battle of Normandy the only cases of tetanos consecutive to wounds that appeared, were noticed on German soldiers who had not been inoculated.

Scientific research does not lead always to speculator results. But I can tell you that in every branch of medicine you would find in France research workers full of enthusiasm.

Surgery made huge progress during the war; the methods of anesthesy of reanimation and of transfusion allow the most daring operations. Regarding surgery we have several specializations: Neuro-surgery, which is operations on the brains; is represented by the pupils of late Professors de Martel and Clovis Vincent; Professor Leriche has entirely created the surgery of the sympathetic system and he is still an active worker, amidst his numerous followers. By a good fortune, I had just brought with me some decuments about an operational cell invented by Prof. Letac, who is at present a visiting professor in Kabul. That transportable cell replaces an operational room and is specially useful in wartime or in tropical countries. One of its major advantages is that the internal organs are kept in a 98° temperature, with controlled humidity, and so the operational shock is greatly reduced.

In Gynecology and Obstetrics, the influence of Hormons has been carefully studied and research is steadily going on. A rivalry between Professors Varangot and Moricart creates an emulation which profits to scientific research.

A new chapter has been opened in medicine: the psycho-tomatic medicine. It was a very old notion that psychic and moral conditions had an action on the physical conditions of the body, and that it is reciprocal. But those old notions have been revived and put on the forestage by new processes. So narco analysis consists in injecting through the veins an anaesthesic substance which has a short effect. When the patient awakes, he is under a special state and his subconscient discloses itself. He answers all the questions asked by the psychiater. By this process you can understand the starting point of a psychosis, for example a great emotion a moral tranmatism, which happened years ago.

But the process called narco synthesis, the psychiater can suggest to his patient that the cure is easy to go, and to instill willingness to recover.

Developed by the Americans after the war for rehabilitation of soldiers, those processes have been carefully experimented by Prof. Jean Delay who has become a kind of artist in that field.

Prof. Benoy Sarkar will probably be interested by knowing that industrial medicine and social medicine are one of our main concerns. The recent laws for social security have been progressively extended to all the French. There is no patient, however poor he may be, who is still unable to send for the doctor or to be admitted in an hos-

pital, to undergo an operation. The cost for hospitalization are paid and the fees of the doctor as well as the drugs are also paid to the extent of 80% at least.

In every factory there is a medical man in charge of the preventive medicine, and whose field remains distinct from the field of the practising doctor.

It is time to conclude. It may be presumptuous to say that French climate is favourable to scientific research. But our institutes are largely opened to foreign students, amongst whom many conducted in France valuable work. The names of Metchnikoff Besredka Weiberg and Salim Beni are very well known. Amongst the names I quoted to-day, the late and regretted Nitti was an Italian, Bovet is Swiss, Botelho is Brazilian.

On the contrary French scientists go abroad attracted by richer laboratories. So the Rockfeller Institutes has open wide doors to Alexis Carrel who has realized there his culture of tissues ; to Lecomte du Nouy who worked in physics ; to DuBost who discovered new antibiotics the tyrotricine extracted from Bacillus Brevis.

So I believe that the capacity for research is not the privilege of certain nations. Discoveries do not belong to a specific country. It is even impossible to state that any political regime is better for scientific research than any other. But what is certainly sure is that science cannot get out of international co-operation. And I wish that my journey here is followed by many others in both senses, from India to France and from France to India.

Thank you.

LAND REFORM IN WEST BENGAL[1]

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THANKS to a measure of legislation passed more than a century and a half ago under the initiative of the then Governor-General of India, Lord Cornwallis, the land problems of Bengal have assumed a very perplexing character, so much so as to baffle all conventional solutions. It has given rise to a host of evils weakening the socio-economic structure of the entire Province. These evils have been pointed out from time to time by eminent economists and leaders of the country, and, finally, the Bengal Land Revenue Commission have summed them up all in Paras 80-8 of the first volume of their Report. As that Report has long been published, the Commission's findings are now public property, so I need not repeat them here. In view of the various defects, the Majority of the Commission have come to the conclusion that (*a*) the Permanent Settlement is no longer suited to the conditions of the present time ; (*b*) the Zamindary system has developed so many defects that it has ceased to serve any national interest ; (*c*) no half measures will satisfactorily remedy its defects ; and (*d*) the present system can only be remedied if the State comes into direct relation with the actual cultivators.[2] They have, therefore, recommended the abolition of the Permanent Settlement and the Zamindary system and have urged that the Government should purchase the interests of all classes of rent-receivers on reasonable terms and thereby bring the actual cultivators into the position of tenants holding directly under the Government.

The Commission reported in 1940, but the Government of Bengal could not implement any of the recommendations of the Commission apart from levying the long overdue tax on agricultural income. The Government of (undivided) Bengal apparently had a justification for their failure to implement the Commission's recommendations in the War, Famine, Riot, and the post-War constitutional changes.

[1] Adapted from a speech delivered during the discussion on the "Symposium on Agrarian Reforms initiated by Provincial Governments and States" at the Eighth Indian Agricultural Economic Conference held at Sriniketan in December, 1947.

[2] *Cf.* Ray, Agricultural Economics of Bengal, Part 1 (Calcutta University), pp,227-8.

The Government of the new Province of West Bengal was formed on July 2, 1947, with Dr. P. C. Ghose as the Chief Minister. This Government had to pass through an initial period of considerable unsettlement due to riots, effects of partition and to the legacies of War and Famine left by its predecessor. Nevertheless, attention was given to the question of land reforms.

The Government of West Bengal being a Congress government, is bound by the Congress stand for the abolition of the Zamindary system. As a matter of fact, it is admitted that a radical change in the system of land tenure of the Province has become an imperative necessity and it is recognised that a mere replacement of the rent-receivers by the State can be no remedy for all its evils. Indeed, one of the major obstacles in the way of agricultural development in the country is the existence of a large majority of small, fragmented and uneconomic holdings resulting from an excessive pressure of population on lands which make progressive land development impossible. It is felt that unless the small holdings are pooled and merged into bigger farming units, there can be no hope of improving the conditions of agriculture and of building up a community of prosperous peasants. So, it is suggested that the scheme of land reform in West Bengal should be devised primarily to secure the following objects, namely :

(1) to eliminate all unproductive population who subsist on rental profits from lands ;

(2) to provide each cultivating family with an economic holding which shall be a compact, indivisible and non-transferable farming unit ;

(3) to prevent transfer of agricultural lands by a restricted policy of settlement with actual cultivators or a co-operative society or corporation of farmers so that every cultivator may earn a living at a reasonable standard ;

(4) to encourage adoption of co-operative methods of cultivation ; and

(5) to create facilities particularly for the displaced landlords to invest their compensation money on large-scale co-operative farming by mechanical appliances by taking the actual cultivators as working partners.

Such a scheme will obviously require the acquisition of all rights in lands going down to the interests of the cultivating tenants so that the lands may be distributed on a planned basis. If, however, in any

area it is considered inexpedient to proceed with such outright acquisition at one and the same stage, provisions may be made to carry through in the first instance the acquisition of all rent-receiving interests.

But by far the most difficult problem to be faced is the financial implication of the scheme of State acquisition. Even if compensation be paid at 10 years' purchase, as recommended by the Land Revenue Commission, which would mean an outright expropriation of the income of the landlords to the extent of 60 per cent., there will be an annual loss of revenue of Rs. 48 lakhs for many years to come. If, however, all rights in lands and not merely the rent-receivers' interests are acquired and then settlement is made on a planned basis, the scheme may not altogether be a losing concern.

A rough estimate, as made by the Government of West Bengal, of the financial interests of State acquisition of Rent-receiving Interests in the Province is given below :—

Total raiyati assets including Road, Public Works and Education Cesses payable by raiyats	Rs.	5,68	lakhs
Deduction on account of revenue, cesses and cost of management	,,	3,20	,,
Net income for purposes of compensation ..	,,	2,48	,,
Deduction, in case of Government management, on account of irrecoverable and remission, additional cost of management and loss on account of Agricultural Income-tax	,,	1,68	,,
Net increase of revenue	,,	80	,, (1)
State's liabilities :			
Compensation at 10 times the net income ..	,,	24,80	,,
Cost of revisional operations, construction of tahasils and quarters, and additional compensation of waqf, etc.	,,	10,81	,,
	Rs.	35,61	lakhs
Total annual charge if the entire amount is paid by loan	,,	1,07	,
Sinking fund (60 years at 3 per cent.) ..	,,	21	,,
	Rs.	1,28	lakhs (2)
Net annual loss of revenue during the first 60 years (2)—(1)	,,	48	,,

While examining the financial implications of the abolition of zamindaries in West Bengal the Government have very appropriately taken into consideration a regressive rate of compensation, that is, a rate of compensation varying inversely as the amount of net income. It may be observed here that the Bengal Land Revenue Commission have unanimously held that any compensation to be paid must be calculated at a flat rate for all interests.[1] The injustices of a flat rate of compensation are quite obvious. So the Government of West Bengal are to be congratulated for having made a departure from the recommendation of the Land Revenue Commission. The rates of compensation proposed are as follows :—

Amount of net income	Rate of compensation
(*a*) Up to Rs. 2,000 ..	15 times
(*b*) Above Rs. 2,000 but not exceeding Rs. 5,000	12 times but not less than the maximum under (*a*)
(*c*) Above Rs. 5,000 but not exceeding Rs. 10,000	10 times but not less than the maximum under (*b*)
(*d*) Above Rs. 10,000 ..	8 times but not less than the maximum under (*c*)

But an exception is made in the case of trust properties, the income of which is dedicated exclusively to charitable or religious purposes without reservation of pecuniary benefit to any individual. The compensation for acquisition of any such trust properties shall be assessed as a perpetual annuity to ensure such income.

The proposed rates of compensation varying from 8 to 15 times the net income works out an average of 10 times which, it may be noted, got the largest support among the members of the Land Revenue Commission.[2] The financial implications of State purchase on the basis of 10 times the net income for the whole of Bengal meant an annual gain for the State to the extent of Rs. 2.23 crores.[3] But the net financial result of State acquisition of all rent-receivers' interests in the Province of West Bengal is, as shown above, estimated to involve a yearly loss of revenue of Rs. 48 lakhs for a long period of 60 years.

Although the precise scheme of land tenure which will replace the existing system of zamindary, is yet to be worked out in details, it is accepted that such a scheme would be an out and out *raiyatwari* system. The basic principles of that system would be as follows :

[1] Land Revenue Commission Report, Vol.I, Para 100.
[2] *Ibid.* Para 101. [3] *Ibid,* Para 128.

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(*i*) Lands will be held only by the *bona fide* cultivators or co-operative societies or corporations of cultivators. Provisions should, however, be made for adoption of large scale farming with power driven appliances in special circumstances.

(*ii*) There shall be only one class of tenants, *viz.*, the " raiyat " with right of occupancy. That is, " land for the peasant " shall be the cardinal principle of tenancy reforms and there shall be no intermediaries nor shall there be any place for non-cultivating *de jure* raiyats.

Homestead, tanks and other non-agricultural lands shall be held by the owners as non-agricultural tenants directly under Government.

(*iii*) The holding of a raiyat shall not be transferred except to a *bona fide* cultivator owning less than a maximum area to be prescribed.

(*iv*) Sub-letting in any form shall be absolutely interdicted as an essential part of a strictly *raiyatwari* system.

(*v*) There shall be provisions for consolidation of holdings in order to make them compact or of economic size.

(*vi*) No new holding should be created unless it is of the prescribed economic size.

(*vii*) The minimum size of an indivisible holding or a farming unit shall be prescribed and no subdivision shall be allowed if it will reduce the farming unit to less than the prescribed minimum size.

An alternative to 10 years' State purchase of all rent-receivers' interests has also been suggested. This has been called a scheme of collectivisation of proprietary rights in lands. This scheme consists of two parts. In the first instance, all the elements of proprietary rights should merge together and vest in the village community. Secondly, each village community would form a co-operative society for joint management of cultivation or collection of rents in each village or group of villages.

Either of these schemes of reforms, when put to effect, would bring about a radical transformation in the existing land system of West Bengal, and would put an end to one of the most arbitrary and oppressive socio-economic systems in India.

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GERMANY AS SEEN THROUGH GERMAN EYES

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Sweden

IT is very difficult to understand these Anglo-Americans. Last winter their policy was solely aimed at starving out Germany with the object of weakening her and reducing her to the status of a slave-nation. Now, however, they have made a sweeping change in their political tactics and are making all possible attempts to win the Germans over to their side. Such are the remarks which are usually heard on the lips of the average man-in-the-street in Germany.

All the reports and statistics which are so carefully prepared by them with regard to shipments of food to Germany are nothing but a thumping bluff and hoax to divert the attention of the world from the actual state of affairs obtaining there. As an example may be cited the tale told by a man who is employed in a factory at Hamm in the British zone of occupation, according to whom butter which is produced in Schleswig-Holstein is sent to this factory for packing before it is marketed under the trade-mark MADE IN ENGLAND. Another interesting case is reported from Boelefeld of a man who was there loading potatoes in a goods-wagon. Curiously enough his coat which he had left behind in the wagon was found after four days lying inside a potato-sack which was labelled—"Shipped from America."

All that silly talk about maintaining food-rations at 1550 calories per day is also nothing but a bluff. A secret clause in the Potsdam Agreement which was signed by America, the Soviet Union and England stipulated that food-rations in Germany should be held low as was the case at Buchenwald (which was only 1000 calories per day) up to the 1st of April, 1948. It is therefore not at all surprising that cannibalism has made its horrid appearance in present-day Germany. Poverty is so great that just for a crumb of bread most people will only feel too glad to sell himself or herself without giving any thought for Decency and Decorum. Some weeks ago in Krefeld which lies within the British zone of occupation 100 children were found missing and this incident gave rise to a strong feeling of suspicion in the hearts

of many that they had been all killed and their flesh had been utilized in the manufacture of sausages in the Black Market. After this tragic incident no mother in Krefeld dares allow her children to stir out of doors and the feeling of many persons there has been so greatly outraged that they no longer dare buy suasages from the Black Market.

It was only recently that the Americans and the Britishers have come to realise the advisability of winning the friendly co-operation of the Germans in their common struggle against the Soviet Union. For weeks on end American planes showered leaflets over the Russian zone of occupation in which they openly encouraged the German industrial workers to cross the frontier over into the American zone of occupation. They were promised good pay and special food-rations if they decided to come and work in the American munition factories. Those among them who had the additional qualification of motor-driving experience were promised by the American authorities to be employed as military motor-drivers and were given the option of serving either in Germany proper, Turkey or Greece.

The Russians are feverishly preparing for another war and the Americans and the Britishers are fully conscious of it. Through the Russian zone of occupation, transports carrying tanks, cannons and other weapons and munitions may be seen rushing day and night to the banks of the river Elbe where the Russians have started constructing fortifications. This has necessitated the evacuation of the local population as a result of which many schools and clubs in Halle and in some other towns within their zone of occupation had to be closed down for want of students and visitors. Sentries and guards have been posted on all railway bridges and the Autobahns which connect Leipzig, Halle and Magdeburg are now closed to all traffic as they are being exclusively used by the Red Army for troop-transportation. A decree was recently promulgated to enforce compulsory military service among all German youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty five and they were immediately required to register themselves with the proper authorities concerned. The Russians, however, at first tried to give a wrong scent to the Western Powers by simply stating that certain measures were being taken to ascertain the labour potentiality of the occupied zone but they failed to keep secret their real intentions behind all these efforts on their side. It was in fact a recruitment drive launched by the Red Army in right earnest under the guise of—" Registration of potential labour." This move, however, failed to catch the imagination of thousands of Germans who

fled westwards and crossed over the borders into Bavaria, Wuertemberg-Baden. The Western Powers, however, did not remain idle spectators of this subterfuge. In their respective zones they have already started training Nazis and S.S. men under the command of British and American officers. In the French zone recruitment to the army is now in full swing. The services of German pilots who formerly belonged to the Luftwaffe are being requisitioned for imparting instructions to American flyers in atombombflying in B29 and B36 types of bombers and for giving them lessons in manoeuvring the new jet-propelled fighter-planes. In preparation for a blitzkrieg action which the Anglo-Americans have meticulously planned to carry out with the help of special air-borne troops for liberating the Russian controlled concentration camps at Oranienburg, Sachsen-Hausen and Buchenwald, the Anglo-Americans are freely recruiting volunteers both Allied and German who have been trained on German Storm-Troop lines. Some time ago according to a Russian report the Bier-Bruecke bridge at Chemnitz in their zone was closed to all traffic for carrying out repair works, but the residents of Chemnitz took this Russian announcement with a pinch of salt as they had got scent of American preparations across the border for liberating the area.

Persons who intend to make a journey to Berlin from the Western zones are usually advised by the authorities to sell off all valuables that may be in their possession before they actually set out on this hazardous journey; the reason put forward being that bandits and thieves who freely roam about in the streets and fall upon civilians even in broad day-light and rob them of their belongings are plentiful.

Instances of kidnapping of able-bodied persons are also not lacking. Many of these kidnapped persons are sent to Siberia for doing slave-labour and other humiliating work. Even women may be seen working in the Uranium mines of Ertzgebirge.

There are other symptoms which unmistakably point out the great danger of another war breaking out any moment. A rumour has it that an undeclared war has already begun with the crossing of the Turkish frontier by the Russian Army as a result of which the new Turco-American army was involved in a regular tank-battle with the Russians. It is now common knowledge that the Dardenelles have been fortified by the Russians as well as the Americans and these seem clear indications of an impending conflagration. The war is sure to break out in Germany as soon as the Western Powers have

succeeded in creating a defensive line of their own. The technical superiority of the Western Powers over the Russians specially with regard to the atom bomb has decidedly placed them in a far more advantageous position and they are therefore determined to start a war in Germany before the lead they have so far maintained slips out of their hands. So far everything has gone exactly in the same way as the little Dr. Goebbels once said,.....

(Translated into English from the Swedish Monthly Allt.)

Round the World

Japan's New Constitution—

After the defeat of Japan in 1945, it was decided as an earnest of the new political outlook of the people to replace the old constitution of the country by a new one. Technically of course the new system was introduced only as an amendment of the old one. But actually so drastic and so fundamental are the changes brought about that it may be more appropriately said that a new constitution has been set up for Japan. It was promulgated on November 3, 1946, by the Emperor and was proclaimed six months later on May 3, 1947.

The basic feature of the old constitution which was framed principally by Ito Hirobumi (Prince Ito of later days) and which was modelled to a great extent on the old Prussian system was the sovereignty of the Emperor. It was from him that all power would flow. It was for him to grant the constitution and to amend and modify it if circumstances so demanded. In promulgating the old constitution in 1889 Emperor Mutsuhito had actually observed : " Rights of sovereignty of the state we have inehrited from our ancestors and we shall bequeath them to our descendants." The constitution he was promulgating was intended not so much to curb and limit that sovereignty as only " to exhibit the principles by which we are to be guided in our conduct." The preamble to the new constitution, however, changes fundamentally this basis of the state. It states : " We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people."

The constitution adopted in 1889 consisted of seven chapters and seventysix articles. The new constitution consists of ten chapters and one hundred and three articles. Even then it is far shorter than what the new constitution of India is expected to be. This is, however, largely due to the fact that Japan is a unitary state in which it is enough to provide for the organisation of one government, while the Indian Union will be a federal state with paraphernalia to be provided for two sets of authorities. Chapter I of the new constitution as that of the old one is concerned with the position of the Emperor. Article I of this chapter provides : " The Emperor shall be the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people, with whom resides sovereign power." It is yet too early to say if there will be any diminution in the position and

prestige of the Emperor by virtue of the change which the constitution brings about in the location of sovereignty. It should be remembered that inspite of great powers vested in the Emperor by the old constitution, he never exercised any of them on his own. Direct rule was not for the Emperors of Japan. So inspite of the theoretical changes, introduced in the constitution, practically the Emperor may remain what he was.

The Diet will still consist of two houses but the upper house has ceased to be a chamber of peers. It will be elected as much as the lower house. The power and position of the Diet has also been considerably enhanced. In fact it is now " the highest organ of state power " and is " the sole law-making organ of the state." Its authority over the Ministry has also been definitely established. Under the old constitution the Ministers were not only to be appointed by the Emperor but they were not necessarily to be responsible to the Diet. In fact the Constitution merely stated that these Ministers were to be responsible for the working of their departments. The constitution did not specify the authority to which the Ministers were to be accountable for the proper discharge of their functions. But it is now frankly stated that the Prime Minister will be elected by the Diet and the Cabinet will be responsible to it. Secondly, it should be borne in mind that under the old system there was a duality of arrangement, the Ministers in charge of the army and navy occupying peculiar positions and not being fully under the control of the Cabinet and the Premier. This duality is now abolished.

The new constitution also assigns power to the Supreme Court to nullify laws passed by the Diet on the ground of their inconsistency with the provisions of the constitution. Usually such power is enjoyed by a court of law when the constitution is federal. But the framers of the new constitution of Japan have thought it right and wise to vest this power in the Supreme Court although Japan's system of government remains unitary.

The most important chapter in the new constitution is that concerned with the renunciation of war as an instrument of settling international disputes. The right of self-defence is not of course banned but military forces of all types are banned by the constitution. Consequently it is questionable if even for self-defence it will be possible for Japan to take to the sword. We do not know how far this chapter was introduced in the constitution as a result of pressure from the conquering countries and how far it was the result of the awakening of the new spirit among the Japanese people. It, however, seems that it cannot be a permanent feature of the Japanese fundamental law. As soon as Japan gets out of the shackles of the occupying forces, she will have to shuffle off this unintelligent restriction which the constitution has imposed upon her. Otherwise, she will have no sanction behind the independence she may regain.

Colour Bar in U.S.A.—An Englishman's Reaction—

John Morris writing in a recent issue of the *Fortnightly* refers to his visit to Sanfrancisco and other places in the U.S.A. As he had been detained in the boat by the immigration officer, he was late in landing and had difficulty on that score in getting a taxi. " After a little time a rather battered Ford drove by and I hailed its Negro driver. The car was painted a brilliant yellow, and in large white letters which ran right across the body was the slogan 'Father divine is God.' The porter who was carrying my bags hesitated when I told him to put them into the taxi—" In that ?" he said —and even the driver appeared to think I was not quite normal. When we got to the Hotel the commissionaire outside received me coldly and asked me to wait. After a few moments a clerk came out. He looked searchingly at me, but after satisfying himself that my skin was white, and that as a foreigner I was not well acquainted with local custom, he told me that I might have a room. When I got to know him better he explained that while it was quite all right to ride in a taxi driven by a Negro, " white people " never in any circumstances used those of the sort in which I had arrived ; they were reserved for " coloured folk." Next day he was on a visit to the University of California at Berkley. There he came across a few Negro students. " During our walk through the campus my companion expressed his surprise at seeing four Negro students. He appeared to be genuinely shocked to see them in friendly conversation with some white Americans. He told me that during his five years at Harvard he had come across only one, and he, poor guy, had committed suicide before the end of his course." Mr. Morris was sometime afterwards at New Orleans where conditions regarding white-negro relations were more deplorable. " Americans, and more particularly those from the South, do not like their attitude towards the Negroes to be criticised by a foreigner. Nevertheless, during a long residence in India, where British relations with the people have often been the subject of bitter American criticism, I never saw anything so degrading as conditions in New Orleans, where the Negroes appear to have very few rights. They may not, for instance, attend a " white " church, and in the cinemas are allowed only in the topmost gallery. In no circumstances are they allowed to occupy sleeping-berths on the trains, and they may only travel in special compartments on trams and buses. A white man may not travel in a taxi driven by a Negro ; cannot take a Negro friend in a taxi with him. It is in fact regarded almost as a criminal offence to be seen talking to a Negro." The U.S.A. is a white man's paradise !

Future of Tripolitania—

While the future of the former Italian colonies in North Africa is to be decided upon, the observations of a writer in the October issue of the

Contemporary Review may show which way the ambition of Britain lies.

Tripolitania proper has an area of 106,000 square miles while the southern adjoining desert called Fezzan is yet larger. This latter was, however, occupied by the French under General Leclerc in 1943 and has since been under strict French control. It has become a French dependency and may remain so in the future. Tripolitania itself has 700,000 Arabs, 40,000 Italians, 30,000 Jews and a few thousand other foreigners including a large proportion of the Maltese. Pending the decision of the United Nations as to the future of this former Italian colony, the British have formed a care-taker administration there. The writer has nothing but praise for what this " care and maintenance " government has already achieved in Tripolitania. " Roads built by Italy have been repaired, hospitals restored and new ones founded, old schools re-opened and new ones created. Work and food are provided despite the devastation of modern warfare."

The question is if this able and benevolent government will be allowed to perpetuate itself in this former Italian territory. The writer tells us that he had in this regard " long talks with leaders of the Arabs, Jews and Italians, not only heads of the civil population, but also of different religions, such as the Catholic Archbishop of Tripoli, the Chief Rabbi of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and the heads of the predominant religion of the Arabs, the Senussi Order." " In Tripolitania and Cyrenaica Jews emphasised to me that they only want to live in peace and work and hinted that their work could be best performed under the trusteeship of England." These Jews, he observes, are not zionsists. They have nothing in common with the Jews in Palestine. They look and live exactly like the Arab tribes in the desert. Among the Italian settlers there are still some who remain inured to the idea of their being the " Master Race." This idea was infused into them by the fascists while Mussolini was in power. Most of them are, however, disillusioned as to the future of their country as an imperialist power. The writer wants us to believe that their disillusionment has actually gone so far that they are now convinced that Italy has now no part to play in Africa, that English rule over Tripolitania " would be the best " and that consequently the care-taker British Government there should be made the permanent Government in that territory. So the Jews and Italians will for the most part welcome British rule for Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

But what about the attitude of the Arab population? This question the writer answers in a characteristic way. If he said straightway that the Arabs also would welcome British rule in the same manner as the Jews and Italians, he might have created doubts among those who know something of the Arab world today. So he points out that there is a desire among the Arabs that Tripolitania, Fezzan and Cyrenaica should be united under

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the political and religious leadership of the Emir of Senussi. But this desire, he emphasises, is also accompanied by a longing for British friendship and co-operation. True the Egyptians among whom the Emir is living today have become anti-British. But this is only a passing phase and the Arabs in North Africa are staunch in their admiration and friendship for Britain. So the writer concludes " the case of Great Britain, if she desires the trusteeship of Tripolitania or Cyrenaica or both, is a good one. The populations prefer her if they have to choose a regime of trusteeship to any other country." America also, he thinks, " will certainly back England as a great stabilising power in the Mediterranean." So let Mr. Churchill sleep more deeply.

Destiny of Egypt—

In a previous issue of the same magazine a writer discusses the dilemma in which Egypt is placed today. The people and politicians of Egypt are conscious of the historical mission of their country and the traditions of forty centuries behind them. At the same time they are not forgetful of the danger which small nations may have to face from the cupidity of the great nations of the world. " The policy that calls for the unity of the Nile Valley, that is to say the incorporation of the Sudan into the Egyptian state, is no less old than the demand for independence. Pharaoh after Pharaoh marched own into the arid Sudan to conquer and to ensure the safety of the annual Nile floods.....Egypt is today asking for the Sudan because she is following a national precedent. Things have changed extremely little in four thousand years." When again we look at Egypt's claim " to dominate the Arab states, history's verdict is more hopeful. By and large, again taking as our measure the Nile Valley's four thousand years of continuous history, we see that success has been given more freely to this tenet than to any of the others. Syria and Palestine have been vassal states of Egypt for many more years than they have been free of her rule. And if they are now independent, well, perhaps it is just an interregnum. By all the laws of history they will one day come within her orbit once more. The precedent of forty centuries cannot be disregarded because there has been a respite for a few score seasons." But how is Egypt to shake off the bonds which hold her down at present ? How is she again to maintain her own independence and that of her empire when this independence is won and this empire is acquired ? By joining hands with the Soviet Union ? That may only culminate in the ruin of the feudal society to which Egyptians are accustomed. By alliance with U.S.A. ? That may throw her from the frying pan into the fire.

Reviews and Notices of Books

An Advanced History of India. By R. C. Majumdar, R. C. Raychaudhuri and Kalikinkar Datta. MacMillan & Co., Ltd. Pp. 1081. Price Rs. 16.

This is a work undertaken jointly by three distinguished teachers of Indian History. Each of them has solid contributions of his own on the period or periods of the history of this country which he has tackled in this publication. So although it is intended primarily for students in the higher rungs of their college career and has accordingly been written in popular style, the book is authoritative and may remain for long the standard work on the whole course of Indian History.

The history of this country is, as every body happens to know, intensely complex. Any chronicle which has to cover events happening during a period of two thousand five hundred years and more cannot but be so. Besides, a historian here has not to trace the growth of one single state which has evolved from small beginnings to a vast leviathan. In treating Indian history he has not only to cover the development and downfall of half a dozen large and far flung empires and evaluate the contributions to civilisation which each of them may have made but has the further responsibility of dealing with innumerable petty kingdoms which preceded the establishment of mighty empires and arose out of their dismemberment. This task is intricate and sometimes unpleasant. Ordinarily it makes writing dull and uninteresting and the attention of the reader is apt to falter and flag. India has again seen during her long history the rise and growth of a large number of religious movements. Each of them has left its impress on the chequered society in which we live. One has not unoften to take temporary leave of a political narrative or an administrative analysis to struggle with religious dogmas and theological intricacies. This also may discourage a reader who is not specially interested in religious details. Fight for liberty and constitutional rights enlivens the history of a country like Britain. Foreign conquests of a strong monarchy of a unified country like France interest the students as they enthused the subjects of the most Christian King. The revolution which swept away the ancient regime in France and changed beyond doubt the attitude and outlook of the people there was itself a drama the gradual unfolding of which keeps the students interested. In Indian history we have hardly such parallels to keep up the interest and enthusiasm of those who study it.

To tackle Indian history is on this account a difficult job, particularly when the object is not merely to instruct but to interest. It must, however, be said that the authors have fulfilled their task not only with skill but

with success. While details of political and military activities have been depicted with care and scholarship, the religious, literary and artistic movements have been dealt with in a manner which will interest the students and attract lay readers whom recent achievement of independence has given a special incentive to get acquainted with the broad movements of Indian history. The style throughout is racy and clear and the book bears the burden of the scholarship of authors as lightly as possible. We welcome this publication which has been made more attractive by the incorporation of a number of maps and coloured maps.

NARESHCHANDRA ROY

The Warlis. By K. J. Save, M.A., LL.B. Published by the author in 1945. Distributors—Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 10. Pp. X, 280, 2 maps and 15 plates.

The Warlis are an aboriginal tribe of the Thana District and the adjacent areas. In 1931 they numbered slightly above two lakhs of whom more than half lived in the Thana District alone. They reside in small villages and practise agriculture. Paddy and *nagli* are the two main crops of the people.

The Warlis are divided into three endogamous groups generally based on locality. Each group is again divided into a number of exogamous clans many of which are common to all the three groups. The next social unit is the biological family consisting of a man, his wife and their unmarried children. Grown-up sons and daughters leave the family soon after marriage and set up independent households. Aged and infirm parents are not welcomed by their married children if they ever try to enter into the latter's family in old age.

Warli kinship terms are similar to those used by the Hindus of Deccan or Gujarat. The author characterises the relationship terms as classificatory though they do not appear to be so from his list. The mother's brother plays an important role in Warli society. There is privileged familiarity between a man and his elder brother's wife. The author's deduction that this is the cause of junior levirate is not correct.

The Warli village is ruled by a council of self-elected influential men (Panchas) whose authority is acknowledged by the villagers. This council deals with social disputes such as marital disruptions, divorces, abduction, adulterous connections, etc. Besides the Panchas there is another institution for administering justice in each village, the Patel or Jatela, " who is a judge in the tribal matters affecting the social status of an individual *vis-a-vis* the tribe." This post is hereditary. It is believed that formerly the village Jatelas were under the authority of a head Jatela of the entire tribe but at present there is no such office.

In religion the Warlis have assimilated many of the Hindu gods such as Ram, Lakshman, Hanuman and Siva. They are not, however, actually

worshipped but are rather held in reverence. The Warlis have their own tribal gods and goddesses who receive annual and occasional worships from their devotees. The most important of them are Narandev, the head of their pantheon, Hirva the god of wealth, and his sister Himai. Agriculture being the main source of livelihood Corn (Kamsari) has been deified as a goddess and earth (Dhartari) and cow (Gavatari) are also worshipped in connection with agricultural operations. Many of the Warli gods are represented by material objects and some even have anthropomorphic shape executed in stone or wood. These deities are approached by the ordinary Warli through a priest-magician known as Bhagat who is "a medium, a medicine-man, an arbitrator, a diviner, a conductor of rituals and above all an enemy of witches." The Bhagat is an outstanding figure in Warli society; he wields considerable power and commands great respect and reverence.

The author has given interesting information on the birth, marriage, and funeral rites of the people. He has also dealt with the position of women in detail. But the most important contribution is found in Chapter IX entitled 'Property versus Poverty.' Herein the author has attempted to give concrete facts about the economic condition of the people. The statistical treatment of the data is very useful in measuring the living condition of the different classes of the society. Though agriculture forms the main occupation of the people yet 41 per cent of them have subsidiary occupations like carpentry, carting, service, etc. Only 20 per cent of the families own land and the rest cultivate land owned by other people on payment of half or even more of its produce. The author's statistics reveal the seriousness of the economic condition of the Warlis. Before the second Great War more than 50 per cent of the families had an annual gross income of less than Rs. 100. In view of the fact that the average strength of a Warli family during the same period was 6.3 persons it is quite evident that these families could by no means meet the minimum necessities of their life. The author shows that more than 81 per cent of the families had a deficit budget. The data further shows that this deficit is not met by borrowing but by starvation of different degrees. Even starvation does not save them from the clutches of the money-lenders. The natural hankering for establishment of a family by marriage force them to incur debts. More than 83 per cent of the families were in debt and of these 54 per cent were contracted for marriage and 46 per cent for all other purposes taken together. The rate of interest varies from 25 per cent per annum to 100 per cent.

These facts which Mr. Save has presented to us from an analysis of 85 families taken from three different areas representing different types of economic life, are sufficiently suggestive of the causes which led to the recent rebellion of this unfortunate people. The author of this book is a

Ourselves

The University Athletic Club

For the year 1948-49 the Syndicate has appointed Sri Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., and Dr. B. B. Dutt as Chairman and Treasurer respectively of the Commitee of Management of the Calcutta University Athletic Club.

* * * *

Sir Brajendralal Mitter

Sir Brajendralal Mitter has accepted the invitation of the Vice Chancellor to deliver two lectures on the Indian Constitution at the University.

* * * *

Universities Congress of the British Empire

Professor P. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, The Hon'ble Dr. B. C. Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Dr. W. S Urquhart have been appointed delegates of the University to the Universities Congress of the British Empire to be held this year at Oxford.

* * * *

Indian Economic and Indian Political Thought

On the suggestion of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the University has undertaken to publish for the benefit of Post-Graduate students two books—one on Indian Economic Thought from Rammohan to Gandhi and one on Indian Political Thought from Rammohan to Gandhi. Each book will be a bibliographical study containing in the main extracts from and summaries of books and articles by Indian authors.

* * * *

University Publications to be sent to Jogjakarta University

On the request of the Government of India the University has gladly agreed to supply as a gift to the University of Jogjakarta, Indonesia, its publications on Indian Culture and Sanskrit.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

NOTICE

C/4997/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 (VIII, 1904) read with Sub-section 3 of Section 21 of the said Act the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 the Charu Chandra College, Calcutta shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Alternative Bengali and in Special Paper in Alternative Bengali (Vernacular(to the Intermediate Arts standard with permission to present candidates at the examination in those subjects from 1949 and not earlier.

SATIS CHANDRA GHOSH
Registrar (Offg.)

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1948

SONGS OF VAISHNAVA MYSTICS

(ADAPTATION FROM CHANDIDAS)

LATIKA GHOSE

Bethune College, Calcutta

LOVE IN SEPARATION

IN Mathur or love in separation we have some of the most appealing and pathetically beautiful poems. Krishna has gone to Mathura to kill Kansa, but is caught (as though charmed) in the toils of Kubja, a serving woman in Kansa's palace. Radhika awaits Krishna's promised return, but alas ! the seasons follow each other and still Krishna does not return so that Radhika's heart is filled with the sorrows of separation. At last a year has passed and Radhika wonders if Krishna will be false to his promise. There is none to bring news of him. Her heart misgives her and she intuitively divines that Krishna has been caught in the toils of another attraction.

The spring returns and the glades are a-flower. Unable to bear the pangs of separation any longer Radhika asks her companion to go to Krishna and tell him that he is breaking Radhika's heart. When her companion leaves her, she wanders for-lorn in the sites of her lost happiness. Everything recalls Krishna and flooded with emotion she faints as she in memory recalls the touch of Krishna's lips.

Meanwhile her companion walks along the streets of Mathura singing of Radhika's plight at Krishna's desertion. The sound of Radhika's name at once recalls Krishna to himself and he breaks the bonds of the charmed attraction for Kubja eager to be united with his lost bliss.

Krishna in Mathura has not only strayed from his lost bliss, but in duality fallen under the sway of maya or illusion which Kubja typifies. Under the influence of Maya he is forgetful both of his own Infinity and of Radhika his Hladini Shakti or power of Bliss. Radhika too pines away and is on the point of death parted from Krishna, the infinite and in sorrow is forgetful of her own nature, bliss. Through the blissful touch embodied in Radhika's name Krishna recalls himself and freed of illusion is eager for union with his lost bliss.

I

Oh ! how can I bear,
Shall I forswear,
The beloved for what men say.

Prisoned in my heart,
Of myself a part,
Is his beauty bright and gay.

Yet what fear assails,
As my trembling heart fails,
Lest a thief his image thieve.

So in sleep I press
His form caress,
Oh ! how can I him leave.

For me shall scandal,
A sacred candle,
My beloved's worship light.

My good repute,
An offering mute,
With it may troth I'll plight.

My life accurst,
Unless immersed,
In his love always I stay.

Above convention,
By the soul's ascension,
Heights divine I assay.

2

Can I forget,
His image set,
In my soul a lovely lure.

In every street,
A shadow sweet,
I search his face so pure.

I cannot eat,
For every beat,
Of my heart with his name resounds.

I gaze at my hair,
For his hue so rare,
In its raven web is bound.

In my dark blue veil,
I see him sail,
With me to shores unknown.

As I wander mad,
With heart how sad,
To my home a stranger grown.

Oh ! where is he gone ?
I wander alone,
Oh ! where can I him find ?

The poet sighs,
Oh maid be wise,
And search in your own mind.

3

To lands unknown,
Has my true love flown,
Till in love's fire I burn.

সখি রে মথুরা মণ্ডলে পিয়া
আসি আসি বলি পুন না আসিল
কুলিশ পাষাণ হিয়া।

Cruel his heart,
From me to part,
Oh ! when will he return ?

His name my delight,
On my heart I write,
As I walk from my maids apart.

My mind a-craze,
With what hope I gaze,
Till I feel of tears the smart.

Oh ! tell me true,
When shall I view
His form so bright and gay ?

How long I must,
My feet full of dust,
Searching for him still stray.

By false hopes buoyed,
By love decoyed,
Wander men's scorn to earn.

A stranger to joy,
Love's cruel toy,
Awaiting my love's return ?

4

Was it a lie,
In a sad good-bye,
He vowed to return full fleet.

Youth's tide must flow,
My beauty go,
For who can stay times feet ?

A current swift,
My beauty a-drift,
Will pass to return no more.

কালি বলি কালা গেল মধুপুরে
সে কালের কত বাকি।

No more shall I storm,
His heart so warm,
With beauty's bounteous store.

In my youth's bower,
There was never a flower,
When my love left me to pine.

With youth overlaid,
Must I thus fade,
Myself to sorrow consign ?

What friend will go,
The truth to know,
Why distant my love delays ?

Who with all care,
Will my message bear,
And ask why my heart he slays ?

5

The glades are a-flower,
With spring's rich dower,
My beauty alight with youth's sum.

A cuckoo calls,
My sad heart galls,
The bees in love's bower are a-hum.

A maid forlorn,
Whom all men scorn ?
I pine at my beloved's delay.

My heart is broken,
With sorrow unspoken
My soul-thirst who will allay ?

For my love lies charmed,
By love disarmed,
In the arms of some maiden fair.

সখি রে,
বরষ বহিয়া গেল বসন্ত আওল
ফুটল মাধবী লতা।

A thief she steals,
My fate she seals,
As she sleeps on his bosom so rare.

Oh companion dear,
This message bear,
To my true love feeding on kisses,

That a maiden forsaken,
By sorrow over taken,
Her heart is breaking to pieces.

6

A maid for-lorn,
With love pangs torn,
Ghost-like she wanders a-gaze

At the grove in which once,
She her soul did renounce,
Her heart with love a-craze.

She looks at the stream,
With eyes a-dream,
Thinking how there she delayed.

To glimpse her love,
Dallying rove,
On the bank full gaily arrayed.

She thinks of the day,
When the beloved in play,
Stole the blue veil she wore.

Of the tryst she made,
How on his bosom she delayed,
As the beloved his true-love swore.

Till she faints with bliss,
At the thought of his kiss,
Which she feels on her lips still burn.

অনুরাগে রাধা বেথিত অন্তরে
পাইয়া বিষম জ্বালা।

United deep
In a trance-like sleep
With her love, for soul secrets a-yearn.

7

Oh companion dear,
Go without fear,
And fall at the beloved's feet.

For I must slake
My thirst in love's lake,
Whose waters are nectar sweet.

Oh ! go to him swift,
To ask for love's gift,
Of my longings tell him the sum.

Tell him I dream,
By the banks of the stream,
Oh ! tell him quickly to come,

For these pangs no more,
Can I bear, how sore,
As panting for him I lie.

Oh ! use any wile,
My beloved beguile,
For sick with longing I die.

8

The messenger's song—

As a bird alit,
Did flaming sit,
The fair one set a net.

And caught him fleet,
With glances sweet,
Till the bird in her bosom she set.

সখি, কহিবি কানুর পায়
সে সুখ-সায়র দৈবে শুকায়ল
তিয়াসে পরাণ যায়।
শ্যাম শুকপাখী সুন্দর নিরখি
রাই ধরিল নয়ন-ফাঁদে।

With a golden chain,
Oh ! how vain !
She bound his feet so dear.

And fed him with joy,
Her heart his toy,
Till her name he pronounced clear.

The bird is flown,
What use to moan,
A treacherous bird though fair.

As I him sought,
I found him caught,
Still trembling in another's snare.

A message I bring,
Of his mistress sing,
Whom cruelly he forsook.

I must take him back,
Alas ! Alack !
To his mistress who faints by the brook.

9

The messenger to Krishna—

Oh dark forsaker,
Oh cruel heart-breaker,
From your love a message I bear.

Her dear form wastes,
As of grief she tastes,
That maid so passing fair.

With her tears quite blind
In sorrowful mind
She sighs for you night and day.

বন্ধু কানাই তোমার চরি এত দূর
সে হেন কিশরী রাধা তো বিনু হইয়া আধা
তুমি কেনে এতক নিঠুর।

Her wet veil streams,
As tearful she dreams
Of her beloved's image gay.

Her golden hue,
So bright to view,
Is pale as the waning moon.

Under love's tree,
'Tis pitiful to see,
She lies with grief a-swoon.

Oh ! she lies dying,
There's no denying,
For this one day you'll rue.

Friend, come with me,
If your love you'll see,
Or her corpse alone you'll view.

10

Krishna—

Oh ! tell me more,
I suffer sore,
To hear of her a-miss.

Oh ! if she live,
This message give,
To the partner of my soul's bliss.

That maid so fair,
Can I fore-swear,
For always in my heart,

I feel her wake,
Soft music make,
How can I from her part ?

If I lose her sweet,
For a moment fleet,
My heart is split in twain.

চল চল যাব, রাই দরশনে
শুন গো মরম সখি।

For her how sad,
Did I wander mad,
In the fields, in my heart what pain:

Only to relax,
Her heart as wax,
With love I stood in the way.

On my flute I called,
Her soul re-called
As I asked her my tax to pay.

And still her name,
On my flute aflame,
Sounds ever sweet and clear.

Tell her I come,
To her heart, my home,
My precious one so dear.

The Image of Buddha Jinarat

A VISIT IN THE INTERIOR OF SIAM

PARESHCHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

ONE DAY, while discussing the development of Fine Arts with Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Director-General of the Siamese Fine Arts Department, he told me in a casual manner that, he was sending a batch of dancers from Bangkok to Vishnulok in Northern Siam to bring about a cultural solidarity among the people of the country. I appreciated the purpose he had in view, for without a constructive plan the national Art of Siam cannot be developed properly. The haphazard way of preserving the ancient dances of Siam may only create confusion and cause local differences which will undoubtedly effect a degeneration in Art.

As I listened to him I thought this was an opportunity to see the interior of Thāi-land in company with Nai Dhanit, the chief of the Division of Music and Drama in the Fine Arts Department, who was to be leader of the proposed party. So I requested Hon'ble Anuman to be kind enough to take me with the party and it is needless to say that I was very cordially invited.

So necessary arrangements were made with Nai Dhanit and on the appointed day I found him awaiting me in the busy but beautiful station of Huālāmphong in Bangkok. At 7.15 A.M. our train moved towards the north. The landscapes on both sides were amazingly pleasant. The stretches of yellowish paddy-fields after harvest and the frequent bamboo groves on both sides reminded me of the plains of my country. The peculiar names of the stations like Bāng Su, Bān Pāchi, Bān Moh, etc., sent a romantic thrill in my heart and I felt a bit of Marcopolian ecstasy. When our train after stopping for a while clattered across Āyuthia, the earlier capital of Siam, I thought of the Burmese invasion of Siam in 1767 by king Alaungpya, which transformed by its ruthless vandalism the beautiful city into a vast cemetery.

At Bān Moh a chain of mountains was visible on the right which ran in a South-Easterly direction with a wide curve. A railway line also here winds to the east. Then we reached the more mountainous areas, where the places like Nong Don and Bān Klāp look like Chotanāgpur in India with its mountains and jungles. Occasionally

I saw a man going with old carbines and powder pouches hanging on his shoulders. The farmers whom we passed by looked like the Semi-Mongoloid people of Eastern India.

After passing through Nong Dón and Bān Klāp stations, the ruins of Lopburi (Lavapuri), the ancient capital of the Khmers, came into view. Here, on the two sides there are mountains. Nai Dhanit showed me on the right side (east) the buildings of New Lopburi, which faces the old Lopburi on the left side (west). Near the station I saw an ancient fort with ramparts of Cambodian pattern. The deserted and broken stronghold is now overgrown with jungles and looks sad. Perhaps, the most interesting edifices which can be seen from the Lopburi station, are the famous Three Pagodas and the great Mahadhatu temple which lay on the left side of the railway line. The Mahadhatu temple is of purely old Cambodian style and it is quite different from the Āyuthian and the Bangkok monuments. The Khmer Art of Lopburi was more or less Indianesque and the ruins of the place represent the Southern Art of Siam which drew its inspiration from India.

After Lopburi comes into importance the beautiful station of Pāknām Pho, where two rivers join, the solemn lake of Voropheth and the ancient site of Phichit (old name Sā Luāng). The latter city is said to have been built by the celebrated Sukhodaya king Ram Kamhaeng in the 13th century A.D. This station now stands six stations before our destination Vishnulok (or Pitsanulok).

After reaching Vishnulok at night next morning we all started to see the municipal area. By the side of this town flows the beautiful Menām Nan river[1] with many floating houses upon its waters. This river had a great importance in the ancient and in the mediaeval days as it connected the viceroyalty of Vishnulok with the strategic places of Pāknam Pho and Nakon Swan (Nagara Svarga, *i.e.*, the city of heaven) by being continuously steered upon by the innumerable boats of commerce and war. The greatest importance of this town in historical times lay in its forming a link between the southern and the northern parts of Siam. The early name of Vishnulok was Song Kwae (Song=two and Kwae=tributary) as it is associated with another stream called Menām Noi nearby, apart from Menām Nān which flows just by its side.

[1] "Menam" means river. Its name is Nam because it has got its source near a city called Nan in the area of the Shan plateau.

Cambodian Plastic Decoration on a door of the Temple of Chulamani

First, we went to the market which is very similar to a typical Indian market. The same commodities, rice, fishes, vegetables, fruits and meats are sold in the same manner of bargaining endeavour on both sides—the sellers and the purchasers. The only slight difference which is visible is entirely due to the Mongolian ethnic features of the people thronging there.

Next, we went to see the fine sanctuary Wāt Phrā Śrī Ratana Mahādhāt. The highest " Sikhara " or arch which is of purely Cambodian type was dazzling from distance with its golden colour. In this Wat remains the famous figure of Buddha Jinatat which as local tradition interprets was made at the pious instance of Mahādharmaraja I, the celebrated grandson of great Rāma Khāmbaeng. The calm and placid figure of Lord Buddha cut a deep impression in the hearts of the thoughtful men. The delicate and nervous art of this image shows the excellence of the Thāi art in the later Sukhodayan and early Āyuthian periods (13th to 14th century A.D.). Buddha is here associated with two " Nāgas " or serpents which bear a close resemblance to the Chinese dragons and show some similarity with the Indian "Kirtimukha."[1]

On the walls of the Jinārat temple there are portraits depicting the life of Buddha. The most beautiful scenes among them relate the following significant occurences of Buddha's life :—

(1) Prince Gautama seeing the Four Omens while travelling on his chariot. The omens were an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a monk.

(2) The departure of the prince from the palace, that is, the great renunciation.

(3) Offering of food by Sujātā to Siddhartha.

(4) Gautama's battle with Māra the evil-doer just on the eve of his great enlightenment.

(5) First preaching of Buddhism at Sāranath or Mṛgadāba.

Near the temple of Jinārat there is a broken Buddha figure in sitting posture. Except these, many other interesting antiquities can be seen in the great Mahādhat group of temples.[2]

Perhaps, the most interesting thing in the area of the great " Wāt " is the big 18 cubit high standing statue of Lord Buddha. This is

[1] The Nāgas of Siam and the Chinese Dragons sometimes look like the same. Only the coily legs are not attached to the Nāgas.

[2] Coomarswami describes the Buddha heads which have been found at Pitsamulok as the supreme achievement of the Thāi genius (*vide* The history of Indian and Indonesian art).

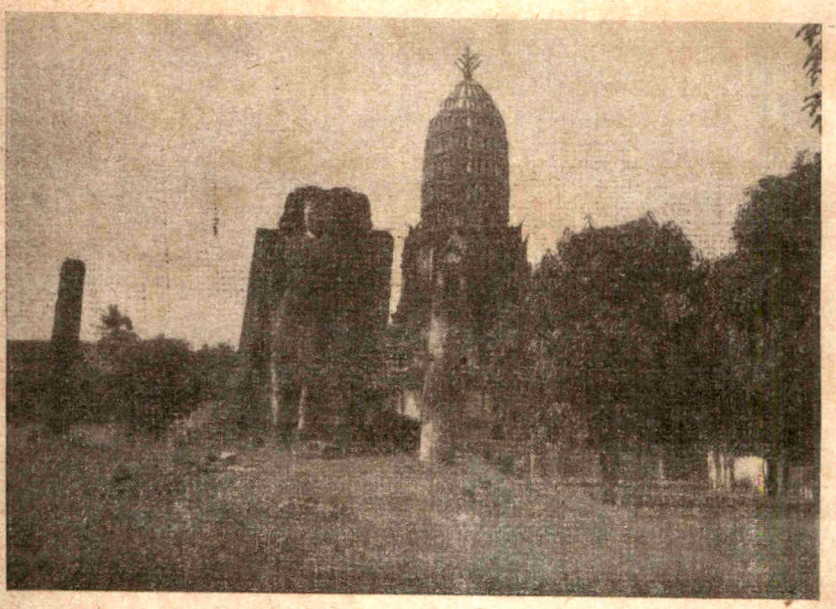
locally known as " Buddha āṭhārot." The magnitude of this huge figure by combining with the peculiar pessimistic expression of the face makes a unique impression in the mind of a man who looks to it. Really, the standing Buddha outspeaks the glory of a gothic civilisation which was although heavy in its outer aspects was delicate in its inner expressions. Truly, here we find the mixture of conservative and grand Classical Art with the delicate and idealistic fashion of the Romantic school. In short, " Buddha āṭhārot " is a standing beauty and in one sense it excels the attractiveness of the Jinārat figure. This figure was originally in a pillared temple which is now completely dilapidated due to the notorious Burmese invasions of Siam in the sixties of the 18th century. Now, only the tragic ruins of the temple pillars stand showing as if their broken carcases.

At noon Nai Dhanit and I were invited by Nai Ramsithani (the education officer of the Changwat, *i.e.*, district, of Vishnulok) to stay in his house as guests. In course of his conversations he told us that his present house stands actually in the site of the palace of Phra Naresuen the great, who is better known as the " Black Prince " of Siam. This prince, at first a petty viceroy of Vishnulok (or Pitsanulok), delivered his country from utter ruin and destruction by defeating the ruthless Burmese invaders who by disregarding the emotions and sentiments of the Siamese attacked and plundered their green and alluring plains from time to time. This was not a mean achievement on the part of the prince [1] and because of this exploit the grateful people of Siam still worship him as a demi-god. Nai Ramsithani showed us the dry bathing pond of the king and also the traces of the ruined walls and edifices of the palace. Really I was moved by this sight and I began to think about the romantic annals of mediaeval Siam when a prince with only his iron nerves and indomitable spirit checked the evil onrush from the west and turned a depressed nation into an aggressive power.

At about 3 o'clock we proceeded to see the so-called earliest site of Vishnulok six miles down the river Nan. The ruined palace is now called Chulāmani. By motor boat we went to the place. It was really exquisite when our boat turned the different bends of the river leaving the floating houses of the town behind. We reached our destination after about an hour, and by climbing the steep bank of

[1] *See,* Woods " The history of Siam ; " Prince Damrong, " History of the wars between Burma and Siam " (Bangkok, 1920).

Ancient Cambodian Temple of Chulamani



Wat. PHRA Sri Ratna Mahadhat in the background of
Buddha Atharot

the river we stood in the vicinity of the jungles of Chulāmani. There on the posts of a government shade we noticed, as it is in the other places, posters of two rival claimants for the coming Parliamentary election in Siam; with their pictures. The posters were not of course without inscriptions about the qualifications of the respective politicians.

When we were gazing at them one old farmer approached us showing special honour to the education officer and expressed his desire to guide us to the ruined temples of Chulāmani. Now, with that peasant as our guide we took the jungle-path of Chulāmani, which here and there showed traces of an ancient avenue. Although I could hardly understand the numerous words, which the man was pouring into the ears of my companions, this much I realised that the man was telling something of the glamour of the good old days. Still I remember there was a sad touch in his hoary voice. My friends surmised that here possibly was once located the most important road of Chulāmani, which, we have reasons to believe, was first established by the Khmers or the Khoms (Cambodians).[1] After about fifteen or twenty minutes' walk we reached the ruined shrines of Chulāmani. Here, there are altogether three big Buddha images in sitting posture. All the temples are in ruined condition and the Buddha images on the bare pedestals look gloomy, possibly in tune with the tragic dilapidation of the monastery of Wāṭ Chulāmani. Now, one beautiful edifice, upon the decorative architecture of which Luang Buribal Baribandh (the Curator of the Bangkok Museum) saw some years before remarkable Khom or Cambodian influence is now thickly covered with jungles. The structure stands upon an elevated place. We climbed up with some difficulty, winding our way through thorny shrubs, and enjoyed the adventure of seeing its inside which is strewn with fallen bricks.

From an inscription written upon the wall of a temple here we know about the construction of some part of the monastery by Phra Parama Trailokanath, one of the kings of Siam in Buddhist era 2007 (*i.e.*, 1463 A.D. according to Ceylonese version). The temple is also associated with king Narai (17th century), who it is told placed one impression of the foot-print of Lord Buddha in the monastery. Unfortunately the foot-print is now completely lost.

I heard from the education officer that the ancient city of Chulā-

[1] They occupied Siam before the coming of the Thāis in the 13th century.

mani now remains undiscovered and its exact location has been seriously speculated upon but without success by the archaeologists of South-Eastern Asia. None can tell where the city was and none can guess why it was abandoned. Of course many are sure that the traces of the Khmer city lay somewhere near the Wāṭ Chulāmani by hiding herself under the mother earth.[1]

When we began our return journey, the sun was gradually reclining in the western horizon. By the side of Menam Nan we stood for a while and shared a glass of water which was zealously fetched by the old peasant. After that, we got back to our motor boat.

[1] The Thāi-Bhārat Cultural Lodge in which I work, contemplates to dig up the city by sending an archaeological expedition in the coming winter. Phya Anuman Rajadhon may direct it.

GOETHE

KAZI ĀBDUL WADUD

IN his book on Goethe Croce concludes his elaborate analysis of the poet's philosophy and poetry with the remark that he is unable to indicate the place Goethe occupies in the gradual development of literature. This inability on his part is, obviously enough, another name for his unwillingness, for, every poet, according to him, is a new creator having for his subject the creation of his own personality which ends with his life ; those who come after him also create something new if they are genuine poets, or they imitate, but an imitator has, rightly speaking, no place in the history of literature. Yet Croce admits :

> ....in Goethe's poetry, in his rich varied impressionable and highly intelligent mind, were mirrored for the first time, in conspicuous fashion, many sides of the modern spirit.

Goethe is, as is to be expected, rich in admirers of distinction. But Carlyle seems to excel them all in full-throated profusion. In his Hero and hero-worship he opens his discourse on Hero as a man of Letters, with Goethe, and after giving out in a few charged sentences how Goethe is a new wonder before the world, how he towers even above Muhammad, the Hero of the desert—whom he admires deeply —he changes his topic saying that people are not fit enough to receive Goethe at this stage, and proceeds with his commendation of Rousseau, Burns and Johnson. But we would be making a more dependable approach to Goethe by trying to understand Croce's appraisement of him, *i.e.*, Goethe represents, in a large measure, the modern spirit.

This markedly vast new mind that we witness in Goethe may be taken to represent a major development of the spirit of the Renaissance. To the intelligentsia of our land the European Renaissance is fairly well known as a phenomenon spread over some centuries, intricate on account of its wealth of symptoms, and not uniformly lovely and good but often unseemly as well—a fact to which Tolstoy did not fail to point his powerful finger. Nonetheless it is undeniable that the story of the Renaissance is, generally speaking, a story of the spring-time of the human mind long lying bare, a story, tender and sweet, of the rejoicings of the children of Adam in things mundane.

But the Renaissance blossomed late in frosty Germany in comparison with her neighbours such as France, Italy and England. There was a religious revival in her Reformation in the sixteenth century which, *prima facie*, ran counter to the spirit of the Renaissance. It was rather her Classicism of the eighteenth century which resembled the Renaissance closely. But the German Classicism of the eighteenth century was in fact a synthesis of the Renaissance and the Reformation—its love of beauty was derived from the Renaissance, but its love of truth and fatherland, in other words, love of the good, was a thing of the Reformation. We would point here to an utterance of Lessing, one of the leaders of Classicism. He undertook to explain the principle of beauty in art with his book Laokoon—world famous though tiny in bulk—and he declared :

> If God were to hold in his right hand all truth, and in his left hand the single ever-active impulse to seek after truth, even though with the condition that I must eternally remain in error, and say to me, " Choose," I would with humility fall before his left hand and say, " Father, Give ! For pure thoughts belong to thee alone."

Abundance—Nature's abundance as in spring and in the rainy season—seems to mark unfailingly the awakening of a nation. Abundant fresh leaves and foliages in trees and bushes and numberless gay birds in their branches mark spring ; the rainy season is marked by overflowing rivers and brooks and canals and bogs owing their wealth to incessant showers from above ; similar is the picture of a Nation's Awakening with its army of workers in many a field of activity. In the German awakening of the eighteenth century we find : Oesar and Winckelmann in Art, Klopstock Herder Wieland Goethe, Schiller Schlegel in letters, Kent Schelling Hegel Schopenhauer in philosophy, Nozart and Bethoven in music, and so on..... as if we have before our eyes a sudden emergence of a mighty mountain-range with a great variety of peaks ! The loftiest and grandest of them all is named Goethe by the discerning.

Says Lewes :

> Of all the failings usually attributed to literary men Goethe had the least of what could be called jealousy ; of all the qualities which sit gracefully on greatness he had the most of magnanimity.

And he does not exaggerate. The ease with which this great genius carries himself is remarkable indeed :

> Even the greatest genius won't go far if he tried to owe everything to his own internal self. But many very good men do not comprehend that and they grope in darkness for half a life with their dream of originality. ....I by no means owe my work to my own wisdom alone, but to a thousand things and persons around me who provided me with material. There were fools and sages, minds enlightened and narrow, childhood, youth and mature age—all told me what they felt, what they thought, how they lived and worked and what experience they had gained ; and I had nothing further than to put out my hand and reap what others had sown for me.

He is never tired of expressing his deep indebtedness to Winckelmann, Lessing, Herder and other predecessors of his. We know however that without his widely accepted pre-eminence his predecessors would not have come in for so large a share of attention even as a family rises into fame by the extraordinary gifts of one of its members and not by its many good averages.

We have known some of the literary forbears of Goethe. Rousseau deserves inclusion among them, and more so Spinoza, the philosopher. But the source of his poetic inspiration was not these litterateurs and philosophers so much as his own love-affairs which tormented him throughout his long life. There was in Goethe a strange mingling of the well-nigh incompatible traits : devotion to knowledge and susceptibilities to love.

Love covers a vast space in the life of Goethe as well as in his writings. But here one is on uncertain grounds so to say ; his own people failed to get the right perspective in the matter for years and went on painting him dark. To us, people of the orient, the handicap is greater still inasmuch as we differ widely from Europeans in taste and ways of life however much we may be lovingly disposed towards Europe.

To come to examples : there is Goethe's attachment for Frau Von Stein extending over years. Of his biographies some have taken it to be an instance of pure friendship—platonic love—while others have refused to subscribe to such a view. Similarly extraordinary is his relation at 68 with his friend's young wife Marianne Von Willemer from which arose his famous West-Eastern Divan written after the manner of Hafiz, the Iranian master poet. But to the charge of egotism and hedonism against Goethe on this account we would along

with some other readers of his withhold assent because in his writings —and writings are the record par excellence of a poet's inmost soul —there are protrayals of love of rare purity and non-possessiveness. In his Sorrows of Young Werther the hero Werther is an infatuated lover of Charlotte, the betrothed and subsequently wife of Albert, he is a German Majnoon,[1] and he utters : " Is not my love for her the purest, most holy....has my soul ever been sullied by a single sensual desire ?" In his Elective Affinities Eduard, the hero, forgets his wife in his mad yearning for Ottile ; but Ottile is as holy to Eduard as an idol to its votary, the casualist hint from her would induce in him the strictest self-control. Croce has observed that Faust is rather a voluptuary in regard to Margaret : he forgets his grand quest for knowledge and takes the help of an old procuress to secure her. But Croce's judgment here lacks accuracy. The brave noble Faust of the first few scenes, the ardent seeker after world-knowledge, does not really degenerate into a libertine in the subsequent scenes. He is deeply in love with Margaret, and not merely lustful : he finds himself a changed man in her room where he entered stealthily :

> And I ? What drew me here with power ?
> How deeply am I moved, this how !
> What see I ? Why so full my heart and sore ?
> Miserable Faust ! I know thee no more.
> Is there a magic vapour here ?
> I came with lust of instant pleasure,
> And lie dissolved in dreams of love's sweet leisure....

There are similar pictures of deep and noble love in Goethe's Tasso, Iphigenie and other works.

But the warmth of our vindication should not make us forget that a relation between the sexes as we find in Goethe's life is not to be imagined even amongst the advanced section of our people. In our part of the globe beautiful non-restraint of this nature is to be met with in the annals of gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, and, in a lesser scale, in the popularly conceived heaven of the Mussalmans, but the question of achieving any moral amelioration through such a course of life is beyond our normal comprehension to this day. (It will of course cease to be so and life and struggles such as Goethe's will appear normal human affairs to us as well when woman becomes a full-fledged personality to us.)

[1] Of the Arabian love episode : Laila and Majnoon.

There are others who hold that Goethe was insensible to sin ar injustice, as Amiel remarks :

> He is a Greek of the great time, to whom the inward crises of the re gious consciousness are unknown.. he takes no more interest tha Nature herself in the disinherited, the feeble and the oppressed..

But the view is contradicted by Amiel himself in the latter portic of his jottings of the day :

> One must never be too hasty in judging these complex nature Nature covers all her eruptions and devastations under her rich verdure Goethe to our mind was as full of vitality as Nature herself, and a his conflicts and sorrows lay submerged underneath a bewitchir exterior. Let us quote him :
>
> Only he who has been the most sensitive can become the harde and coldest of men, for he has to encase himself in triple ste ....and often his coat of mail oppresses him.

We have observed that in Goethe are found entwined quest f knowledge and susceptibilities to love. It is a fit subject for elabora treatment, and students of Goethe cannot be too curious about i Goethe seems to lose himself entirely in his love while yet anoth consciousness in him watches and records the progress of his infatuatio This uncommon love for the real seems to be the substance of whi Goethe's genius was made. Mark, his friend and guide, assured hi in his early youth : "You give poetic form to the real." There can b no sounder exposition of Goethe's poetry than this. But his love f the real could not degenerate into realism, because, according to him

> The artist has a two-fold relation to Nature ; he is at once h master and her slave. He is her slave inasmuch as he mu work with earthly things in order to be understood but he her master, inasmuch as he subjects these earthly means his higher intentions and renders them subservient.
>
> The artist would speak to the world through an entirety ; ho ever, he does not find this entirety in nature ; but it is t fruit of his own mind, or if you like it, of the aspiration of fructifying divine breath.

Dr. Rudolf Steiner has gathered and systematized Goethe's sayin of this nature in a book entitled Goethe as the founder of a new Scien of Aesthetics, the gist of which appears to be : Nature is purposef human nature is purposeful in a still higher sense—in art is expres that higher purpose of human nature. Here is one of Steine important quotations from Goethe :

> In that Man is placed on Nature's pinnacle, he regards himself as another whole Nature, whose task is to bring forth inwardly yet another pinnacle. For this purpose he heightens his powers, imbuing himself with all perfections and virtues, calling on choice, order, harmony and meaning, and finally rising to the production of the work of art, which takes a prominent place by the side of his other actions and works. Once it is brought forth, once it stands before the world in its ideal reality, it produces a permanent effect—it produces the highest effect —for as it develops itself spiritually out of a unison of forces it gathers into itself all that is glorious and worthy of devotion and love, and thus breathing life into the human form uplifts man above himself, completes the cycle of his life and activity, defies him for the present in which the past and future are included.

Dr. Steiner concludes his thesis thus :

> Beauty is not the divine in a cloak of physical reality, no, it is physical reality in a cloak that is divine.

We would add a few more observations of Goethe in support of the view·

> Occasional poems (are) the first and most genuine
> Of all kinds of poetry.
> The first and last thing demanded of genius is love of truth.
> I seek in everything a point from which much may be developed.

In his essay on poetry, contributed to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Theodore Watts-Dunton divides poetic vision into two categories : Absolute vision and Relative vision. Examples of absolute vision he meets with in Shakespeare and Homer, and by the term he understands vision of the thing-in-itself : the poet in this state forgets his own likes and dislikes altogether and depicts men and things as they themselves are. The prospect of achieving such an absolute vision consequent on complete self-effacement for a poet with human limitations, or to put differently, if Shakespeare and Homer could in their moments of so-called absolute vision shed their Shakespearehood and Homerhood so completely, is, obviously, meagre. The sort of self-effacement and vision that a poet—who never ceases to be a human being—seems to be really capable of is his comprehension, sufficiently unbiased and objective, of the widest range of mental states and stages of humanity, in which Goethe need not yield place even to Shakespeare and Homer. But we would not dilate lest we offend literary canonists.

Goethe asserted even in his youth :

> All your ideals shall not prevent me from being genuine, and good and bad—like Nature.

One endowed with such an outlook can ill afford to remain within the confines of what is commonly known as poetry and poetic beauty. And we find : Goethe is not only a poet, he is, in addition, a scientist (his contributions to science have been recognized), an art-connoisseur, a music-connoisseur in later life, and even a mystic. And for this extraordinary range of his mind and spirit and mental perceptions he has been acclaimed by a modern English writer (John Macy : The Story of the World Literature) as the master of all liberal thinkers :

> We are all disciples of Goethe whether we know it or not, and any liberal mind has but to be brought into contact with the master to realize that inevitable discipleship. Whoever prefers moral energy to moral formalism, world federation to international rivalries, a cultivation of essential as opposed to mythical values in literature, life, politics, thought, can draw endless inspiraition, vigour and light from the life, the example, the writings—down to chance, letters or brief epigrams—of this one man.

He was no believer in religion in the ordinary sense of the term : yet his observations on God would excite wonder—and profound joy—in believers and idealists. He utters through Faust :

> Who dare express Him ?
> And who profess Him ?
> Saying : I believe in Him !
> Who, feeling, seeing,
> Deny His being,
> Saying : I believe Him not !
> The All-embracing
> The All-upholding,
> Folds and upholds He not.
> Thee, me Himself ?
> Arches there not the sky above us ?
> Lies not beneath us firm the earth ?
> And rise not on us shining,
> Friendly, the everlasting stars ?
> Look I not, eye to eye, on thee ?
> And feelest not, thronging
> To head and heart, the force,
> Still weaving its eternal secret

Invisible, visible, round thy life ?
Vast as it is, fill with what force they heart,
And when thou, in the feeling wholly blest art,
Call it them what thou wilt,—
Call it Bliss : Heart : Love : God :
I have no name to give it :
Feeling is all in all :
The Name is sound and smoke,
Obscuring Heaven's clear glow.

and here is another pregnant utterance of his pertaining to religion :

Only religious men can be creative.

Goethe was markedly deficient in patriotic zeal which has been censured and criticized in endless ways. But the deficiency has gladdened Croce's heart :

I consider it singularly fortunate that among all the sublime poets, perrenial sources of deep consolation, there should yet be one who, possessing a knowledge of human nature in all its aspects, such as no other poets ever possessed, nevertheless keeps his mind above and beyond political sympathies and the inevitable quarrels of nations.

On Goethe's internationalism we would quote only two of his utterances :

National literature is now rather an unmeaning term ; the epoch of world literature is at hand, and each one must try to hasten its approach.

Altogether national hatred is something peculiar. You will always find it strongest and most violent where there is the least degree of culture. But there is a degree where it vanishes altogether, and where one stands to a certain extent above nations and feels the weal or woe of a neighbouring people as if it had happened to one's own. This degree of culture was conformable to my nature, and I had become strengthened in it long before I had attained the sixtieth year.

Man was considered a microcosm—an epitome of the universe —in the middle ages. The statement, applied to all men, does not command easy acceptance. But Goethe was such an epitome indeed. The spontaneity and urge of nature and the seeking and sifting of human nature met in his life and genius splendidly, without detriment to either.

The breath of the ocean that is Goethe will prove invaluable for the human psyche in all ages possibly.

FOREST POLICY FOR BENGAL

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FORESTRY as a major industry is yet to receive our attention. In Germany it provides employment to more than four million people. In the Tennessee Valley region the income of every twelfth family is derived from employment in a wood-using industry. " More than one-third of the total number of processing plants in the Valley utilise forest products. These concerns employ one-fourth of all persons engaged in the region's resource-processing or basic industries. Their annual output is valued at 52 million dollars, which is 17 per cent of the value of the annual output of all the Valley's basic industries."[1] Hundreds of portable saw-mills, plants for hardwood distillation, furniture, veneer and barrel plants; tanning extract plants; wood-pulp and paper mills etc., are continuously at work, utilising all forest products to the fullest extent and thus increasing the wealth of the nation. The claims of the farmers have not been overlooked. They get their fuel and fence-posts and constructional timber as much as they require. In India, however, the picture is otherwise. Our forest policy is out of joints with the 20th century industrial world. It was laid down by the Government of India in its Circular No. 22F, dated 19th October, 1894, in the following words: " Subject to certain *conditions* to be referred to presently, the claims of cultivation are stronger than the claims of forest preservation. The pressure of the population upon the soil is one of the greatest difficulties that India has to face, and that application of the land must generally be preferred which will support the largest numbers in proportion to the area. Accordingly, whenever an effective demand for culturable land exists, and can only be supplied from forest areas, the land should ordinarily be relinquished without hesitation; and if this principle applies to the valuable class of forests under consideration, it applies, *a fortiori* to the less valuable classes."[2]

The conditions referred to above are the following :—

(1) Honey-combing of a valuable forest by patches of cultivation should not be allowed; (2) cultivation must not be shifting

[1] Forests and Human Welfare, p. 12, published by the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1940.

[2] Para 6 of the Circular.

but permanent; (3) the minimum forest area required to supply "the general forest needs of the country" should be preserved, as "cultivation is impossible without the assistance of forests"; (4) lastly, Protection Forests, *i.e.*, those necessary in the interest of climate or physical conditions, must not be destroyed.

Undoubtedly, the policy of the Government has been very cautiously worded. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the full significance of forestry was not and perhaps could not be realised by the Government so early as 1894. Forests in the twentieth century serve as the foundation of a very important wing of the industrial structure of a country. Ruskin, in one of his famous essays in the Crown of the Wild Olive described coal as the basis of modern civilization. The same might well be said of forests, though, perhaps, few realise it. Forests are no longer hand-maidens of agriculture. They yield a financial return which agriculture might well envy; they provide an employment which is steady and decent, unpunctuated by periods of forced idleness; they feed industries employing millions of men. Apart from timber and fuel, they provide us with bamboos, canes, fruits, medicinal herbs, caoutchouc, catechu, wood-oil, resin, essential oils, lac, tanning materials, fodder, animals, skins, horns, silk, cocoons, honey, wax, goalpatta, thatchgrass, peat, bumus, limestone, minerals and mineral oils, fishing, hunting. This is not an exhaustive list. Without mentioning other products, we may add that such big industries as paper, artificial silk, match, wood-distillation, etc. depend entirely on forests. And it is with a view to developing such industries that we require a re-orientation of our forest policy.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, while generally endorsing the forest policy of 1894, pointed out that "the development by the forest department, of forest industries is a matter of great importance to the agriculturist.....The testing of the suitability of various woods for use as containers and the treatment of bamboo for the production of paper-pulp on a commercial scale are two important aspects of the industrial activities of the Institute (Research Institute at Dehra Dun).....In many cases cultivators in the neighbourhood of forests are unable to win from the land sufficient to maintain themselves without some supplementary means of livelihood. It is clear, therefore, that if new industries can be started, or existing industries developed, in which cultivators can participate, they will derive great benefit from them. The making of charcoal as a by-product, the extraction of turpentine, the cultivation and

processing of lac, all provide suitable subsidary occupations. There is also scope for the extraction of essences from medicinal herbs, and of oils, gums, resins, and dying and tanning materials from forest trees and plants. It has recently been shown by the Madras Forest Department that excellent barrels can be made from local woods. There is a potential demand for cheap wooden handles and frames for agricultural implements to be satisfied, specially if and when local factories are established for the mass production of improved implements. Many of the lesser known Indian woods are of fine quality; their suitability for furniture and other purposes is now being investigated at Dehra Dun and when their valuable properties have been demonstrated, new markets for them may be anticipated.

We consider that there is a wide-field for both experiment and development, and that in exploiting forest produce of all kinds, it is very desirable that the forest department should work in close touch with those responsible for the development of the rural industries."[1]

The Commission considered forestry essentially from the point of view of the agriculturist. Hence, though it recommended the development of forest industries, the appointment of utilisation officers in each province, and a closer connection between the forest and agricultural departments, yet it is clear that such industries were mostly to provide supplementary occupations to the half-employed agriculturists of the neighbouring areas. The recommendation, thus, appears to be antiquated. It is strange that the forest policy of 1894 was accepted in toto by all the provinces and several Indian States as late as 1937. Its defect lies in the fact that it has almost failed to realise the role of forests in permanently maintaining and developing several industries of greatest value, not merely satisfying the needs of the agriculturists, but enabling India to decrease her imports of many a forest product, to compete in the international market of first-class constructional timbers, paper, paper-pulp, artificial silk, matches, fruits, honey, gum, rubber etc. and thus to increase the national wealth and prosperity. In a sense, forests deserve protection against the claims of extensive agriculture, specially against the cultivation of certain uneconomic crops. If our forests are not worked at present most efficiently, that is because there has been too little of public criticism of a department that has worked in jungles almost *in camera* and has received meagre financial assistance. More-

[1] Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928, pp. 265-266.

over, there is no policy to organise and work the forests in such a way as to develop national industries owned and worked by the Government or by Indians themselves. Though we have extensive areas under forests, our dependence on foreign forest products is not negligible. The following table will prove that :—

TABLE I—VALUES OF IMPORTED FOREST PRODUCTS

Article	1938-39 Rs. in lakhs	1939-40 Rs. in lakhs	1940-41 Rs. in lakhs	1941-42 Rs. in lakhs	1942-43 Rs. in lakhs
Wood and Timber	287	270	289	286	20
Artificial Silk	224	459	544	349	23
Dyeing and Tanning substances	311	361	530	578	464
Paper and pasteboard	323	346	394	355	182
Spices (betelnuts, cloves and others)	263	255	219	211	152
Rubber, raw and manufactured	141	148	188	235	26
Camphor	..	..	27	15	1
Fruits and Vegetables	134	121	102	112	119
Tea Chests	90	83	134	122	79
Bobbins	38	38	47	65	57
Toys and requisites for game	37	33	20	15	4
Gums and resins	..	..	27	32	27
Ivory	..	..	7	10	11
Furniture and cabinetware	..	..	13	5	2
Cordage and rope	..	..	7	4	0.7
Matches	..	..	36	23	0.1
Total ..	1,808	2,084	2,584	2,417	1,059.8

Our export of forest products should have been many times our imports, whereas, in reality their quantity and value are almost insignificant. The following Table gives their values for five years :—

EXPORT OF FOREST PRODUCTS

Articles	1938-39 Rs. in lakhs	1939-40 Rs. in lakhs	1940-41 Rs. in lakhs	1941-42 Rs. in lakhs	1942-43 Rs. in lakhs
Wood Timber	27	21	25	22	15
Rubber	72	94	91	73	6
Lac	127	189	225	5	3
Dyeing and Tanning substances	59	71	41	36	31
Coir	96	128	77	76	87
Spices (cardamums, pepper, betelnut)	79	108	89	113	194
Drugs and medicines (Senna, Nux Vomica etc.)	28	33	33	61	31
Fibre for brushes, brooms	16	13	11	8	17
Fodder, bran, pollards	9	5	6	5	7
Cordage and rope	..	..	12	15	6
Tallow Stearine and Wax	3	3	5	7	1
Total ..	516	565	615	420	398

The whole amount of each of these items is not supplied from the forests, but such supplies can be increased at least tenfold, if the forests are properly worked. The amount of timber and fuel supplied by the British Indian forests, consumed at home, is given below with the value of the minor produce :—

Year	Amount of timber and fuel	Value of minor produce
1937-38	2796 lakhs of C.ft.	Rs. 118 lakhs
1938-39	2849 ,, ,,	,, 122 ,,
1939-40	2902 ,, ,,	not available
1940-41	3063 ,, ,,	not available

The revenue of all the provinces of British India from forests was Rs. 438 lakhs in 1936-37; Rs. 301 lakhs in 1937-38; Rs. 300 lakhs in 1938-39; while expenditure in those years were respectively Rs. 275 lakhs, Rs. 222 lakhs and Rs. 231 lakhs, respectively. Thus, the net revenues from the forests of all the provinces in these three years were Rs. 153, Rs. 79 and Rs. 69 lakhs, respectively. Net revenue per square mile of forests under the control of the Forest Department in British India was only Rs. 76 in 1937-38 and Rs. 74 in 1938-39.[1]

Not only are the forests of India not properly and economically worked, but also the timber consumption in India is so low—due to a variety of causes, the most important of which is the uneven distribution of these forests and their uneconomic exploitation—that it deserves our attention. The consumption of timber is very elastic. It is found to increase with an increase in the total forest area of a country. This will be clear from the Table given below :—[2]

Country	Forest area per 100 inhabitants	per capita consumption
Finland	1470 Acres	299 C.ft.
U.S.A. (1923)	430 ,,	200 ,,
Sweden	960 ,,	129 ,,
Norway	650 ,,	118 ,,
Russia	440 ,,	66 ,,
France	60 ,,	26 ,,
Germany	50 ,,	27 ,,
Great Britain	10 ,,	15 ,,
Belgium	20 ,,	24 ,,
Netherlands	10 ,,	16 ,,
British India	26 ,,	1.5 ,,

The figure for British India has been determined on the following basis : the production of timber and fuel in British Indian State forests was 2849 lakhs of cubit feet in 1938-39. The imports and exports of that year were 1,85,430 tons and 3,030 tons respectively. The timber and fuel produced from the private forests in British India have been estimated at 50% of the output of Departmental Forests.

[1] Annual Return of Statistics relating to Forest Administration in British India, 1938-39, p. 39; *Ibid.*, p. 47; Post-war Forest Policy for India, by Sir H. Howard, 1944, p. 23.

[2] Hiley—Economics of Forestry, 1928 (Oxford), pp. 18-31. The case of Canada is peculiar. Her forest area per 100 inhabitants is the huge figure 7,757 acres, and her per capita timber consumption is 250 C.ft.

The total amount of timber and fuel, thus stand at 43,64,70,000 C.ft. for a population of 29,60,00,000. The per capita timber and fuel (not simply timber) consumption comes to be only 1.5 C.ft. As our forest area per 100 inhabitants is half of that of Germany our consumption should have been at least 13 C.ft. per capita, or taking the standard of Netherlands or Belgium, it should have been between 30 to 40 C.ft. When we remember that timber is an essential element in human civilization, that it is used for such diverse purposes as doors, windows, beams, rafters, chairs, tables, benches, almirahs, boxes, book-cases, bed-steads, staircases, floorings, panels, tubs, barrels, railways, carriages, ships, boats, ploughs, rice-pounders, bullock-carts, etc., and fuel for our daily use, we can well understand how low is our standard of living, how poorly housed and how poorly furnished we are, so that our timber and fuel consumption is only 1.5 C.ft. per capita, while it is 200 in U.S.A. When we remember that 70% our people live on agriculture and in mud-huts with thatched roofs and damp floors in a country with a long rainy season, we understand the cause of the low vitality of the people. Sir Azizul Haque while opening the All India Forest Products Exhibition, remarked, " Bengal villages have still to depend upon bamboos and straws for their huts. Has anything been done to find out to what extent cheap building planks are available for construction of such huts ?"[1] Between 1939 when this remark was made and 1946 an age has passed. It is now possible and practicable to devise a scheme for the application of timber at a very low cost, in the construction of modest, simple and yet decent houses for the poorer classes of India. The scheme has been tried successfully in America on a very large scale. It is the scheme of " pre-fabrication." It saves time, space, weight, freight. It lowers cost, ensures good design and durability and easy replacement. The British Timber Development Association, Ltd., writes : " Factory-built sectional wooden houses of unit design (which is what pre-fabrication means) were created in small numbers in this country before the war and went beyond the experimental stage to become satisfactory permanent buildings. Interchangeability of units affords possibility of several ultimate designs with differing accommodation, but with considerable speed of erection and speed of habitability."[2] The other advantages of such pre-fabricated

[1] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, June 26, 1939.
[2] Planning and Reconstruction, 1944-45, p. 162.

houses are : they can be assembled very quickly and by comparatively unskilled labour ; they save space and weight in transport ; they are well-ventilated, economical and when properly treated with preservatives, sufficiently durable. Maintenance costs are low and replacing of parts is easy. If they are produced within the forests on a very large scale, many scantlings and small pieces otherwise thrown away, would be utilised, thus, bringing down the cost. But this requires a new policy in forest utilisation.

The habit of using iron and steel telephone posts, railway sleepers and even household furniture (*e.g.*, book-cases, chairs, tables, shelves, etc.) should be strongly discouraged in the interest of national economy. Iron and steel should be used only in such cases where extra strength and hardness are necessary, *e.g.*, as strong pillars or arches for bridges, railway lines, machinery, locomotives, boilers, etc. Generally wood is as durable as if not more than steel. The same Association writes : " It may be noted in support of this contention that creosoted telegraph poles last from 15 to 30 years and more ; that railway sleepers outlast the rails they support ; that many marine structures of creosoted timber outlast the use for which they were originally built and have been adapted for new uses or for piles drawn and driven again, elsewhere."[1] It should be noted that the deposits of iron are limited and exhaustible, while supply of wood is perennial, renewable and can gradually be increased.

In determining forest utilisation policy another point should not be missed—the numerous and most profitable uses of pulp and cellulose. There are at present only 14 paper mills in India, 5 of which are in Bengal, including the one recently opened at Chittagong. Only three of these produce paper-pulp. The two Bengal mills use bamboos and *sabai* grass, while the third one in the Punjab uses *bhabar* grass. None of them, so far as I know, has yet used softwood, the supply of which can and should be increased through re-orientation of afforestation or of management of the existing forests for the following reasons : All the European countries utilise softwood like Fir, Spruce, etc., for the production of paper-pulp. Paper is essentially necessary for education of the masses, for official use, and for newspapers. In India its consumption is inconceivably low as will be seen from the following table of consumption of different countries :—

[1] Planning and Reconstruction, 1944-45, p. 164.

Country	per capita paper consumption in lbs. (1927)	Country	per capita paper consumption in lbs. (1927)
U.S.A.	147 lbs.	Germany	48 lbs.
Great Britain	72 ,,	France	31 ,,
Sweden	53 ,,	Austria	26 ,,
Finland	51 ,,	Italy	18 ,,
		India	6 ,,

Under the Indian Tariff Act of 1939, wood-pulp enjoys a protective duty of Rs. 30 per ton or 25% *ad valorem*, which ever is higher, while the duty on paper was lowered from 11 pies to 9 pies per lb. Yet, the total paper production in India was 11,84,000 Cwt. in 1938-39. It rose to 14,16,267 Cwt. in 1939-40. But the imports of paper were 3 million Cwts. in 1937-38, valued at Rs. 360 lakhs ; 2·5 million Cwts. in 1938-39, valued at Rs. 278 lakhs. During the war it slowly went down from 2 million Cwts. valued at Rs. 394 lakhs in 1940-41, to 1·3 million Cwts. in 1941-42, valued at Rs. 354 lakhs and 0·4 million Cwts, in 1942-43, valued at Rs. 182 lakhs.[1] In the years 1937-38 and 1938-39 the imports of woodpulp were 2,14,000 Cwts. and 2,77,000 Cwts. valued at Rs. 17 lakhs and Rs. 26 lakhs, respectively.

All those figures conclusively prove that our forest department has no connection with the industrial development of the country ; otherwise, how is it that though we have a vast area of temperate hill-forests under soft-woods, and also other areas under bamboos (notably the Chittagong Hill Tracts Division), and the *terai* under *bhabar* grass, yet we do not produce all our paper requirements ? The production of wood-pulp is more important than paper, for, out of this pulp are manufactured not only paper and paste-board, but also artificial silk and the material used in celluloid. In 1924 about 84% of all the artificial silk production of the world was made from soft-wood, the rest from cotton. From the table of imports it will be found that India imported artificial silk valued at Rs. 349 lakhs and artificial silk yarn valued at Rs. 155 lakhs in 1941-42. In 1942-43 the value fell to Rs. 23 lakhs and Rs. 3 lakhs respectively, but in 1940-41 the value of imported artificial silk was as high as Rs. 544 lakhs. It is really regrettable that despite an abundant supply of raw materials, Indian industrialists have not yet found it possible to produce artificial silk in India, though the industry is so profitable.

[1] Review of the Trade of India, 1938-39, pp. 102-104 ; *Ibid.*, 1942-43, p. 149.

In Canada the capital invested in pulp and paper companies amounted in 1928 to over 10,00,00,000. This was three times the capital invested in the Canadian timber industry. 95 cubic feet of soft-wood produce 1 metric ton (2,200 lbs.) of mechanical pulp, and 160 cubic feet of soft-wood are required for the production of 1 metric ton of chemical pulp. News sheets are made generally of mechanical pulp. As the industry is very important and highly profitable, the following table has been given to show the amount of pulp manufactured by the principal producing countries of the world in 1927 :

Country	Mechanical pulp in, 000 tons	Chemical pulp in, 000 tons
U.S.A.	1462	2132
Canada	1471	1075
Sweden	439	1294
Germany	737	913
Finland	295	367
Norway	281	370
Japan	?	422
France	350 (1913)	100 (1924)
Austria	89	176
Great Britain	?	170 (1922)
India	almost nil	nil

The above figures again prove the need of re-organisation of our forests with an eye to their utilisation for the development of these industries of national importance. I have one more industry to refer to. It is the match industry. The failure of Indian manufacturers to rise to the height of the occasion has led the Swedish combine to start manufacturing matches in India for escaping the protective duty. Though India is importing at present far less matches than before, yet her imports are not negligible. In 1938-39 she imported 12,63,000 gross boxes valued at Rs. 23·5 lakhs. This is regrettable, especially as the industry does not require much capital or high technical skill, and as there is plenty of suitable wood for splints for match-making and veneers for box-making. The same argument applies against the imports of pencils. Lastly, I may add that inspite of the strong recommendation of the Industrial Commission, no hard-wood distillation for the production of such valuable products as acetate of lime, methyl, alcohol, wood-tar, etc., has yet been started on a large scale.

Summing up, we may say that the new forest policy for Bengal as well as for the whole of India should have for its objective the four following points : (*a*) the maintenance of all Protection Forests *i.e.*, the forests required on physical and climatic grounds, for preventing floods like those of the Jumna, or Damodar, Ajmere or Chittagong ; soil erosion which is occurring on such a large scale throughout the whole of India, especially in the northern provinces ; land slips so common in the Darjeeling areas ; and for controlling water-supply and retaining sub-soil moisture. (*b*) We require also the maintenance of a minimum area of high forests for the supply of constructional timber to meet the growing needs of the people. (*c*) Thirdly, we also require the maintenance and proper distribution of farm wood-lands for the supply of the much-needed fuel and small timber for the villagers and the agriculturists, and pastures for their cattle. (*d*) Lastly, we require a thorough re-organisation of forests with the deliberate object of establishing and developing a number of highly profitable and useful forest industries for the welfare of the people. Among them the following deserves special attention : 1. " Pre-fabricated " wooden buildings industry. 2. Artificial silk. 3. Match. 4. Paper and paper-pulp. 5. Wood-distillation. 6. Essential oils and herbal extractions. 7. Fruit-preserving. 8. Toys and sporting requisites. 9. Cane and bamboo basket, umbrella stick and other industries. 10. Scientific bee-keeping and honey industry and 11. Charcoal industry.

With regard to the first point *i.e.*, Protection forests, nothing need be said here ; for, the Forest Department is certainly now in a position definitely to determine what are the protective and catchment areas. Such areas mostly occur in the hills, at the junction of rivers or where there is sudden change in the nature of the topography. In such areas proper silvicultural regulations ; prevention of grazing or lopping or timber-felling ; promotion of natural regeneration assisted by artificial planting in blanks and occasional felling of over-mature trees on selection system are, as should be, generally followed. With regard to the second point I may say that Sir H. Howard is right in pointing out that the Forest Policy of 1894 and the consolidated Forest Act XIV of 1927 are defective in so far as neither of them helps or empowers the Forest Department to determine what is the " minimum forest area " essentially necessary for the " general well-being of the country."[1] This minimum includes not only high

[1] Sir H. Howard—Post-war Forest Policy for India, 1944, p. 18.

forests, but also farm wood-lands, but should not include grass lands for pastures, unless they have tree covers. Let us see what are the percentages of forest areas to total areas of some important countries of the world as well as their per capita forest areas [1] :

Country	Population	Forest Area in, 000 Hectares	Percentage of Forest area to total Area	Per capita Forest Area in Hectares
Sweden	6.3 million	22,243	54.2	3.5
Japan	69.3 ,,	19,890	52.0	.35
Canada	10.9 ,,	298,221 (*a*)	32.8 (*a*)	30.1
U.S.A.	127.2 ,,	189,992 (*a*)	24.7 (*a*)	1.5
U.S.S.R.	173.0 ,,	670,797 (*a*)	39.0 (*a*)	4.1
Finland	3.8 ,,	25,263 (*a*)	73.5 (*a*)	7.0
Norway	2.8 ,,	7,500	24.3	2.7
Germany	66.5 ,,	12,748	27.5	.19
France	41.9 ,,	10,572	19.2	.26
[2] *British* India	271.4 ,,	36,113	13.4	.13
Native States	81.3 ,,	7,072	12.1	.09
Great Britain	..	..	6.0	..

From the above Table it is not easy to determine the minimum forest area necessary for national well-being. It is out of question to have 54 or 52% of the land under forests ; neither is it desirable to have so low a forest percentage as we have at present. Of all the European States Germany seems to have struck a balance between the needs of industry and agriculture. As our country is predominantly agricultural, it is impossible for us to do well with a forest area less than 25%. The Inspector-General thinks 20 to 25% as the minimum. A substantial section of this area will be taken up by farm wood-lands, leaving a moiety for high forests.

The principle of management of high forests should be the realisation of the highest financial yield on a sustained basis. The whole net increment should be realised and nothing should be wasted through rot or fire. This is at present far from the fact. A few figures will

[1] The figures in the 5th Column are for the year 1930. Those marked with (*a*) have been taken from International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics, Rome, 1930-31. All the other figures have been taken from the same Year Book, for the year 1933-36. 1 Hectare is equal to 2.47 Acres.

[2] After August 15, 1947, India is no longer British, though she continues to be a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations along with her sister Dominion, Pakistan.

make it clear.[1] The net revenue per acre of forests in Bengal varied from Re. 0-1-2 in 1938-39 to Re.0-1-5 in 1939-40 and Re. 0-1-8 in 1940-41. This is an extremely poor return. In 1937-38, while the net revenue per square mile of forests in Bengal was Rs. 55, and in 1938-39 Rs. 75, the corresponding returns in U.P. were Rs. 384 and Rs. 379. In Bombay they were Rs. 122 and Rs. 128; in N.W.F.P. Rs. 388 and Rs. 683, respectively. In comparison with the sustained yield of Finland or Germany, our forest yield less than one-tenth of those countries. The proportion of net revenue to gross revenue also varied in Bengal from 18% in 1936-37 to 27% in 1937-38 and 24% in 1938-39. It is also strange that very high percentage of the total expenditure is being taken up by Establishment. Thus, while expenditure on account of Conservancy were Rs. 6,82,183, Rs. 6,79,974 and Rs. 7,53,021 in 1938-39, 1939-40 and 1940-41, respectively, the expenditures for Establishment were in these years Rs. 9,34,258, Rs. 9,93,624 and Rs. 10,07,310 respectively. This is sufficient to prove that Bengal forests are not worked on principle of economics. Another interesting point might be noted. During the four years 1934-35 to 1937-38, the average expenditure on regeneration operations in Bengal was Rs. 57,336, while in U.P. it was Rs. 1,22,278. In 1938-39 Bengal spent only Rs. 59,487 on regeneration, while U.P. spent Rs. 1,55,454, Punjab Rs. 2,37,997, Madras Rs. 68,121, Bihar Rs. 72,197 and C.P. Rs. 81,746. The area artificially regenerated in Bengal in 1938-39 was only 2478 acres; in U.P. it was 3882 acres, in Bombay 3186 acres, while in Madras it was as high as 9200 acres. The area afforested in the same year in Bengal was only 42 acres, while it was 1114 acres in the Punjab, 386 in C.P. and 223 in Madras. However, without going into details, it may be generalised that our forests are very backward in principles of management, afforestation, plantation and exploitation. We require the latest methods of silviculture, most economic extraction and an enlarged array of forest engineers. Scientific planting, thinning, weeding, climber-cutting, application of insecticides, adoption of fire-protection measures, controlled grazing, construction of cart-roads, bridle paths, motor roads, application of ropeways, tramways, motor tractors (*e.g.* the Diesel Tractor recently purchased and working very satisfactorily in the Kasalong Range of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Division), are the recognised methods of forest management and exploitation. All these would require

[1] These and other figures in this page have been taken or prepared from the various Forest Administration Reports of Bengal and British India.

considerable capital expenditure and substantial recurring expenditure, if they are to be widely and unfailingly observed. The Government should be wise enough to sanction such expenditures as they are sound investments capable of yielding good sustained returns. One point requires special emphasis. The system of clear-felling with artificial regeneration by the help of regular labourers maintained on a permanent basis, as distinguished from the widely prevalent practice of *taungya* or in some cases with the help of *jhumias*, should be deliberately aimed at, except when silvicultural requirements of the species and other insuperable difficulties make selection-cum-improvement fellings unavoidable. Work with permanent forest labourers has distinct advantages, moral and material. In New Zealand a definite attempt has been made to work the State Forests by permanently settled married couples.[1] The housing conditions of forest labourers should be immediately improved. Economics should be effected in Establishment, especially with regard to the salaries and allowances of the Superior Forest Service. Definite compartments or areas should be brought by the Working Plans under large-scale plantations with such economic species as toon (*Cedrela toona*), semul (Bombax malabaricum), salai (Boswellia Serrata), panisaj (*Terminalia myriœarpa*), lampati (*Duabanga sonneratioides*), kadam (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*), kainjab (*Bischofia Javanica*), pitali (*Trewia nudiflora*), chaplash (*Artocarpus Chapalish*), Utis (*Alnus nepalensis*), Spruce (*Picea Mornida*) and Silver Fir (*Abies Pindrow*), for tea-boxes, packing cases, veneers, plywood, match-boxes, splint, paper-pulp and toys. In this class may also be added champa (*Michelia Champaca*), baen (*Avicenna officinalis*) and gamhar (*Gamelina arborea*). Some of these with Deodar, Himalayan cypress and yew should be planted for the production of pencils. For constructional purposes Sal (*Shorea robusta*), toon, chikrassy, sisso, laurel (*Terminalia tomentosa*), jarul (*Lagerstromeia Flos-Reginoe*), katus (*Castanopsis Hystrix*), together with the best constructional timber-tree teak (*Teetona Grandis*) should be planted in separate compartments unless mixed planting becomes necessary on silvicultural grounds, *e.g.* for shade, or preservation against insects, borers, or for suppression of undesirable undergrowth. For fuel, Sundri (*Heritiera minor*), palas (*Butea frondosa*); babul (*Accacia* arabica), oak (*Quercus Sp.*), *cryptomeria Japonica* and *Eucalyptus sp.* should be grown where possible and worked on a coppice system. For boat-building, teak, sundri gurjan

[1] Official Year Book of New Zealand, 1944, p. 239.

(*Dipterocarpus turbinatus*), chapalish, and jarul are in general use. Sundri poles should be extensively used in mines as pit-props, also as piles and for all such uses where strength and durability are wanted. Greater attention should be paid to soft-wood species, especially in the temperate hill forests, as now it has been conclusively proved that properly treated and seasoned soft-wood can be as durable as hardwood, besides having the additional advantages of light-weight, floatability, easy workability, rapid growth, and of being used for paper-pulp. In New Zealand where the Forest Department was formally established only in 1918, the Government has started not only State-owned forest industries, including saw-mills, box-factories, planning mills, wood-preservation plants, etc., but for the purpose of establishing major industries like ply-wood, pulp-wood etc., it has begun planting exotic soft-wood species. Beginning with only 54 acres in 1898, the New Zealand Forest Department has now more than 6,73,157 acres under soft-woods.[1] The establishment of these forests has been almost entirely financed by loan-money. There is complete " scientific utilisation of the entire range of wood products ranging from fuel to cellulose derivatives." According to the Official Year Book " their economical production in order to compete in the world's market is the objective which is being pursued."[2] Can our Forest Department say like this ?

The management of forests with the definite object of establishing certain forest industries and therefore, the concentrated plantation of particular species in definite plots or regions with an eye to their economic felling, extraction and uninterrupted supply was visualised by the Industrial Commission so early as 1918. The Commission observed : " There are certain special industries such as the manufacture of pencils, matches, tea-boxes both ordinary and three ply and packing cases, which require a continuous supply of suitable timber within a reasonable distance from the factories, this distance depending on the method of transport. As the species suitable for those industries do not as a rule occur gregariously, their concentration in plantation is *strongly* to be recommended." [3] In Bengal it may be said that with the exception of *sal* teak and some plots of *toons* and *Cryptomeria jarponica*, no such plantation has yet been undertaken. Further, *sal* regenerates itself naturally very well and occurs

[1] Official Year Book of New Zealand, 1944, p. 262.
[2] Indian Industrial Commission Report, 196-18, p. 45.
[3] Official Year Book of New Zealand, 1944, p. 240.

gregariously in the Buxa and Jalpaiguri Divisions. There are vast areas of pure *sal* forests. The question of plantation of *sal* is not an important one. The plantation of teak is more important, but in Bengal it does not stand comparison with the Nilambar Teak plantation of Madras. Its output is far below the minimum required for the constructional needs of the province or for supplying the poor people with cheap " pre-fabricated " wooden houses, not to speak of competing in the world market as is the ambition of a small country like New Zealand. Yet our Forest Department has been working since 1865 !

The third point in our forest policy is to be the maintenance and proper distribution of farm woodlands for the supply of the much-needed fuel and small timber of the villagers and of pastures for their cattle. The importance of this subject may be realised from the fact that by far the best manure that our peasants can afford to have is the cow-dung which they at present use, in the absence of cheaper and better substitute, as fuel. The total production of green manure in India has been roughly estimated at 839.5 million tons, annually, two-thirds of which is believed to be used as fuel.[1] This manure should be preserved and for that we shall have to supply cheap wood-fuel to the villagers. In Bengal the area required for the supply of wood-fuel to 60 million people has to be carefully estimated.

In India no accurate figures of recent coal consumption for different purposes are available, but those of the special coal census of 1916 may be helpful. In that year 33.6% of the total output was used by the railways ; 16.7% for bunkers ; 5.6% for jute industry ; 5.5% for cotton industry ; 5% for iron and brass foundries and engineering workshops ; 3.6% for inland steamers ; 12.6% either consumed or wasted at the collieries and nearly 12% was taken for use " *in small industries or for domistic consumption, almost entirely the former.*"[2] The Table below gives the figure of coal production in Bengal for four years with values.[3]

Year	Quantity in tons	Value in Rs.
1935	66,82,752	1,72,76,463
1936	66,67,841	1,70,40,371
1937	65,27,820	2,10,13,790
1938	77,43,372	3,10,96,838

[1] W. Burns—Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India, 1944, p. 116.
[2] Indian Industrial Commission Report, 196-18, p. 18.
[3] Statistical Abstract for India, from 1930-31 to 1939-40, pp. 574-575.

In 1937 the coal production in Bengal was 6.5 million tons. Imports from Bihar in that year amounted to 91.2 million maunds, while exports from Bengal to other provinces amounted to 36 million maunds. The net consumption in Bengal was, therefore 8.54 million tons. According to the coal census of 1916, roughly only 12% of the total coal for Bengal might have been regarded as used for small industries and domestic purposes. But this is not strictly correct, for, as most of the bunker coal, which is 16.7% of the total coal output of *India*, is loaded at the Calcutta Port, it must be something more than merely 16.7% of the total coal consumption of Bengal. Hence the amount remaining for small industries and domestic consumption must be proportionately less. Though the industrial Commission regarded almost the whole of 12% consumed in small industries, yet to be always on the safeside, I have assumed as much as 9% as being used for domestic purposes and yet found a very strange conclusion, On this basis, the amount consumed for domestic purposes in Bengal turns out to be 7,68,000 tons or 2,09,82,780 mds. As the town population of Bengal is near about 12% of the total population of the province, and as their demand for coal is always first met, assuming 2 mds, as the monthly requirements of every town-family of five persons, we come to the strange figure of 3,45,60,000 mds. as the total town consumption of coal in Bengal, whereas the total supply available for domestic purposes is on 9% basis only 2,09,82,780 mds. The discrepancy between demand and supply figures is *prima facie* a paradox ; but it can be solved easily if we remember that a very substantial section of the town people depend on wood-fuel for cooking purposes. Big towns like Calcutta, Dacca, Rajshahi, Chittagong, Krishnagar, etc., consume thousands of maunds of wood-fuel every day. The trade in *Sundri* fuel in Calcutta is well-known.

We, therefore, come to the conclusion that Bengal villages go without coal. Let us now try roughly to estimate their demand for wood-fuel on which they wholly depend. The ex-Director of Agriculture of Hyderabad, Khan Bahadur Nizamuddin thinks " It has been established that an average family needs at least 5 seers a day or nearly 50 mds. (of wood-fuel) in a year. This would be available from half an acre of fuel plantations. Thus each village (of 100 families) would need about 60 acres under fuel trees."[1] On this basis the demand for wood-fuel for Bengal's 52.8 million village people

[1] Establishment of Fuel Plantations in " Indian Forester," May 1946, pp. 251-252.

would be 528 million mds. annually, requiring 5.28 million acres of fuel plantation. Adding with it 0.48 million acres to meet the supplementary wood-fuel demand of the towns, we come to the total figure, 5.76 million acres or 9000 sq. miles of fuel plantations, which we must have if the economic structure is not to break down.

To serve their proper purpose, these fuel plantations must be evenly distributed among the various districts, sub-divisions, circles and unions, not only in accordance with their population, but also in such a way as to make the carrying cost almost nil. Whether the system adopted is coppice or regular plantation, the rotation should be a short one, except in the case of a few standard preserved for a natural regeneration, soil preservation or timber. Moreover, in every district, except where there are sufficient high forests, areas are to be set aside for plantations on long rotations for the supply of constructional timber whose growing demand cannot be met by existing forests especially as they are far away from the centres of consumption.

The present forest area of Bengal is 12,293 sq. miles out of which 6,339 sq. miles are Reserved, 877 sq. miles Protected, 3,588 sq. miles Unclassed forests and 1,489 sq. miles Leased Lands.[1] Leased Lands are not under the Forest Department. They are under the management of the Collectors of Khulna and the 24-Parganas. Unclassed Forests are in Chittagong Hill Tracts where they are irregularly and half-heartedly administered by the Khas Mahal Department. It is for this reason that the " Annual Statistical Returns relating to Forest Administration in British India for the year 1938-39 " shows 7,321 sq. miles as the total forest area under the Department in Bengal.[2] This brings down the percentage of forest area to total area of the province from 15.62 to 9.3. Even this is an over-estimate in one sense ; for, in the Sunderbans Forest Division, out of 3,952 sq. miles of forests, 1,355 sq. miles are unworkable being under *Khals*, rivers, estuaries and creeks.[3]

The forest policy of Bengal should aim at bringing 25% of the total area of the Province under forests and farm woodlands. These forests should be evenly distributed all over the province. At present

1Annual Progress Report on Forest Administration in the Presidency of Bengal, 1940-41, p. 2.

2Annual Statistical Returns relating to Forest Administration in British India, 1938-39, p. 25.

3Sunderbans Forest Division Working Plan, 1930-31 to 1950-51, Vol. I, p. 14, para 28.

most of the forest areas are concentrated in the north, east and south of the province. The northern forests should be preserved in toto for physical and climatic conditions. They are less than 10% of the forest areas of Bengal. The forests of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are not at present properly worked or utilised. They have some strategic importance. Unless there is a demand for land for more productive purposes, they should be preserved and systematically worked. If evenly distributed farm woodlands are to be desired, large forest areas concentrated in particular parts of the province have also their advantages. Large-scale forest industries can grow near about them. But in no case more than 25% of the present Chittagong Hill Tracts forests are to be released for cultivation. The Sunderban forests on the other hand are situated on highly fertile lands.

The Leased Lands have been set aside for cultivation and colonisation. A substantial section of the Reserved and Protected forests of the Sunderbans, but not amounting to more than 25%, may be set aside gradually for the extension of cultivation to meet the growing pressure on land. Commercial crops like cotton, or food crops like rice may, most profitably, be grown on them. But in no case these lands should be released without previous acquisition and plantation by the Forest Department of an equal area of land in the various inland districts of the province, apart from 9,000 sq. miles of farm wood lands for village fuel supply. If the pressure on land is very great, the real remedy lies in education, self-control, improved standard of living, industrialisation and emigration in Kenya, Tanganyka, East Indies and other places. Otherwise, much harmful consequences will proceed from a disturbance of the natural balance between agriculture, industry and forestry.

In Bengal apart from 12,293 sq. miles of State forests, there are 1,596 sq. miles of private forests. These areas were acquired by the Zamindars under permanent settlement almost without any rent. The Zamindars of Jhargaon, for example, paid a rental of only Rs. 258-1-10 for his estate of 1,09,985 acres, which contained in 1868 a jungle mahal of 1,175½ sq. miles. As there was no scarcity of fuel at that time, forests were most ruthlessly destroyed. They were not regarded as a source of wealth worthy of preservation. Vast areas in Midnapore, Bankura, Birbhum and Burdwan districts were turned into scrub and brushwood. The Conservator of Bengal wrote in 1869 : " It is evident then that if private individuals follow the

dictates of self-interest by which people are generally influenced, they will not as a rule, invest their capital in the production and reproduction of timber trees (which requires almost a century's waiting), nor will they preserve the timber forest they may happen to possess, when by cutting it down treating the new growth as coppice wood, they can obtain a much larger return, present and prospective. Private enterprise cannot, therefore, be safely relied on in the matter of timber production, and the natural law of demand and supply here generally fails. It is the State only which posseses interests sufficiently wide and permanent and command resources sufficiently ample to enable it to undertake the rearing of timber producing forests at a large immediate outlay, and receiving only a moderate and frequently very tardy return."[1]

The argument of the Conservator is only partly true. Forestry as a private enterprise is neither impossible nor unprofitable. In New Zealand, apart from the State, there were in 1940-41 31 companies, seven of which were organised on the bond-holding basis and 24 as ordinary joint-stock companies, carrying on commercial afforestation with a total capital of nearly £90,00,000. They had brought by the year 1941 some 3,67,847 acres of land under afforestation, and that very profitably. The real cause of forest denudation in India was not only the lack of sufficient supply of coal or fire-woods for the urgent needs of the villagers, a problem of which the Government have hitherto deliberately refused to face, but also absence of training in the economics and science of forestry on the part of the owners of such forests or their managers. That is with regard to the past. For the present, however, we require not only forest preservation but also extension. How to get it done?

The Forest Act XVI of 1927 does not, however, specifically provide for the extension of State control over private forests for *meeting the needs of the people for timber and fuel.* Such control as the State may exercise, is limited to the protection of any forest or waste-land against floods or for the preservation of the soil on the ridges, or prevention of land-slips, or maintenance of water supply or protection of roads, bridges, etc., and for public health (Section 35 of the Act). In case of refusal on the part of the owners of private forests to follow such controls, the State may assume their management and *in any case* may acquire these forest or waste-lands under the Land Acquisi-

[1] Forest Administration Report of Bengal, 1868-69, pp. 13-14, para 63.

tion Act of 1894. Sir H. Howard writes that " the Act lays down that Government should only take control for certain definite protective reasons, but does not mention the very important reason of keeping a certain percentage of forest land for the general well-being of the agricultural community."[1] My reading of the Act, especially Chapter V, Sections 35-37 is this that it does not prevent the Local Government issuing regulations for controlling the management of private forests or waste-lands or to take up their management or even to acquire them *in any case*, if the Government want to promote the interests of the people and not any particular class. However, the Bengal Private Forests Act of 1945, passed in pursuance of the Report of the West Bengal Forest Committee specifically removes this doubt and provides for the " conservation of forests and for the afforestation of wastelands in Bengal where such forests or lands are not the property of the Crown." [2] Owners of private forest may be required to work their forests under Working Plans approved by the Regional Forest Officer and the Conservator of Forests (Art. 4). Failure to carry out the conditions of such a plan may be punished with fine which may extend to Rs. 500 (Art. 6). Private forests may, for the purpose of " conservation," be vested in a Regional Forest Officer, by notification of the Provincial Government (Art. 7). Lands adjoining a forest area, but not cultivated during the three years preceding application for afforestation either by the Regional Forest Officer or by the owner of a controlled forest, may be brought under such afforestation by notification of the Provincial Government (Art. 10). Other wastelands may be similarly brought under afforestation under Article 11. The Provincial Government may grant loans to the owners of private forests (Art. 8) and impose a cess on acreage basis, to meet the costs of the Regional Forest Officer and his staff, but such cess should not be imposed before the expiry of ten years from the date of notification under Article 3 (Art. 17).

Even if we assume that the Government is sufficiently empowered by this Act to bring wastelands under afforestation, our next question is how to secure even distribution of these forests and farm woodlands. The following table will give us an idea of the distribution of the existing State forests in Bengal, by districts :

[1] Post-war Forest Policy for India, 1944, p. 21.
[2] Preamble to the Bengal Act XI of 1945.

Figures are in Sq. miles

District	Reserved	Protected	Unclassed	Leased Lands	Total Forest Area
Bakarganj	*Nil*	10	*Nil*	*Nil*	10
Chittagong	661	166	*Nil*	*Nil*	827
Chitt. Hills	1,284	*Nil*	3,399	*Nil*	4,683
Dacca	1	58	*Nil*	*Nil*	59
Darjeeling	450	1	*Nil*	*Nil*	451
Jalpaiguri	563	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	563
Khulna	2,316	*Nil*	*Nil*	282	2,598
Mymensingh	65	7	*Nil*	*Nil*	72
24-Parganas	998	632	*Nil*	1,207	2,837
Total State Forests in Bengal[1]	6,338	874	3,399	1,489	12,100 sq. miles

The other districts of Bengal are practically without forests, excepting local scrubs disappearing very fast under ruthless village axe. This makes it necessary that 25% of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Khulna and 24-Parganas forests should be gradually released, while an equal acreage should be afforested in other districts, besides the area necessary for farm wood-lands estimated by me to be not less than 9,000 sq. miles. Out of the total area of 5,03,73,297 acres of Bengal, 2,47,30,000 acres are the "net area sown"; 50,15,347 acres are current fallows; 46,88,193 acres under forests; 93,00,924 acres "not available for cultivation"; and 66,38,732 acres "other uncultivated land excluding current fallows."[2] The area under 'Forests," as given in this Report does not tally with that given in the Statistical Returns for Forest Administratin in British India, for the following reasons: (*a*) "the Forest Administration Reports and the Statements of agricultural Statistics relate in many cases to different periods; (*b*) because the administration reports relate exclusively to forests worked by the Forest Department, while the Tables of Agricultural Statistics exhibit in addition forest areas administered by district officers, local board municipalities, etc., and

[1] This Table has been prepared from the figures given in the Bengal Forest Administration Report, 1939-40.

[2] Agricultural Statistics of India, 1938-39, pp. 39-40. The latest figures are the following: Unculturable wastes—93,00,924 acres; Culturable wastes—66,38,732 acres; Area under Forests—46,88,193 acres; Net area sown—2,47,30,000 acres; Area of curent fallow—50,15,347 acres (*Vide*—Agricultural Statistics by Plot to Plot Enumeration in Bengal, 1944-45, Part I).

(c) because, on the other hand, certain village and other lands not covered by forest, but worked and returned as forests by the Forest Department are not treated as forests in the returns of Agricultural Statistics and are therefore excluded " from the figures given in the latter.[1] The figures for " Uncultivated Land excluding current fallows " include " areas under bamboos and thatching grass when not forming parts of forest areas as well groves not closed in the sown area." The Agricultural Statistics for India do not however, acurately say " how much of the area under this head may be regarded as really fit for cultivation." [2] The term " Not available for cultivation " means that these areas are " absolutely barren or unculturable, or covered by buildings, water, roads or otherwise appropriated to uses other than agriculture." Thus, it appears that the whole of the " Uncultivated Land excluding current fallows " and some portion of the land " Not available for cultivation " may be afforested, though actually, only a portion of it will be so treated under the policy advocated in this article. In accordance with the populations of the districts and making due allowance for the existing forests in some of them, the following Table points out the actual requirements of farm wood-lands in Bengal, district by district.

(Figures are in Thousands)

District	Population	Area of Existing Forests	Area necessary to meet Village fuel Demands	Wood-lands further required	Uncultivated land in the District
Bakarganj	3,549	6	320	314	102
Bankura	1,290	*Nil*	117	117	192
Birbhum	1,048	*Nil*	95	95	182
Bogra	1,260	*Nil*	114	114	108
Burdwan	1,891	*Nil*	171	171	242
Chittagong	2,153	529	194	*Nil*	168
Chitt. H. Tracts	247	2,997	23	*Nil*	1,139
Dacca	4,222	37	380	343	26
Darjeeling	376	289	35	*Nil*	45

[1] Table II, p. 35 of " Agricultural Statistics of India," 1938-39.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.

District	Population	Area of Existing Forsts	Area necessary to meet village fuel Demands	Woodlands further required	Uncultivated land in the District
Dinajpur	1,927	*Nil*	174	174	267
Faridpur	2,889	*Nil*	261	261	64
Hooghly	1,378	*Nil*	125	125	68
Howrah	1,490	*Nil*	135	135	90
Jalpaiguri	1,090	360	99	*Nil*	326
Jessore	1,828	*Nil*	165	165	199
Khulna	1,943	1,663	175	*Nil*	515
Malda	1,233	*Nil*	111	111	314
Midnapore	3191	51	288	237	942
Murshidabad	1,641	*Nil*	148	148	65
Mymensingh	6,024	51	542	491	254
Nadia	1,760	*Nil*	159	159	390
Noakhali	2,217	*Nil*	200	200	46
Pabna	1,705	*Nil*	154	154	36
Rajshahi	1,572	*Nil*	132	132	165
Rangpur	2,878	*Nil*	260	260	9
Tippera	3,860	*Nil*	348	348	50
24-Parganas	3,536	1,816	318	*Nil*	632
Calcutta	2,108	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
Total for Bengal [1]	60,307	7,799	5,243	4,254	6,639

The above Table shows that in no less than 12 districts the available " Uncultivated land " for afforestation is far less than what is further required to meet the fuel demands of these districts (*viz.* Bakarganj, Bogra, Dacca, Faridpur, Hooghly, Howrah, Murshidabad,

[1] The figures in colnmn 2 have been taken from the Indian Census, 1941; those in Column 3 from Forest Adm. Report, but only for the districts of Bakargang, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Dacca, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Khulna, and 24-Parganas figures for other districts in the same Column as well as figures in column 6 have been taken from the Agricultural Statistics for India, 1938-39; those of column 4 have been determined by me in this way : First, I have calculated the areas of fuel plantations in each district to meet the demand of its population on the basis of 1 acre for every ten persons. Then, I have deducted 10% from these figures for the inhabitants of the towns in these districts, whom I have throughout assumed to be dependent mostly on coal. Figures in column 5 have been determined by substracting figures of column 3 from the corresponding figures in column 4, except where those of 3 are greater than those of 4.

Noakhali, Mymensingh, Pabna, Rangpur and Tippera). The area of unculturable lands in these districts are respectively 501, 122, 279, 263, 347, 132, 66, 195, 284, 612, 263, 418 and 281, thousand acres (*Vide*: Agricultural Statistics by Plot to Plot Enumeration in Bengal, 1944-45, Part I, p. 9). Attempts should be made to reclaim and afforest as much as possible of these unculturable lands. Where such attempts fail, proper care should be taken for supplying the people with coal for cooking purposes, and for developing electric power on a permanent basis.

If the State forests, the private forests and the proposed farm wood-lands are added together, the total forest area would rise to 26% of the total area of the province.[1] Even then the forest area of Germany will remain 1% higher than ours. We have also assumed that Leased Lands now under the collectors, as well as the Unclassed State forests, will continue as forests and will not be released for cultivation without acquisition of equal areas for afforestation in other districts. The whole of 42,54,000 acres of 6,646 sq. miles should be brought under plantations within a period of not more than 25 years with an annual afforestation of nearly 265 sq. miles. These forests should, no doubt, be under the regulation and supervision of the Forest Department; but local efforts, co-operation and goodwill must be procured for their creation and maintenance. The Madras model of Panchayet administration of these farm wood-lands should be introduced in Bengal wherever possible, for without the villagers' co-operation and support no such project can ever materialise. Such lands should be acquired where necessary or their management controlled by the Government under the Bengal Private Forests Act, and worked under systematic Working Plans prepared or approved by the Forest Department.

A Criticism of the Post-War Forest Schemes of the Govt. of Bengal

In their Scheme No. 138, the Government of Bengal propose to afforest 2,000 acres of waste lands in the Nadia District in the neighbourhood of Bethuadohori Railway Station. The execution of the Scheme is to take ten years and in the first five years there will be

[1] Total Forest area is equal to 12,293 sq. miles of State forests and Leased Lands *plus* 1,596% sq. miles of private forests *plus* 6,646 sq. miles (*i.e.*, 42,54,000 acres of column 5 of the preceding Table) of farm wood-lands.

an expenditure of Rs. 6.3 lakhs, out of which Rs. 4.05 lakhs will be capital expenditure and Rs. 2.25 lakhs recurring.[1] The cost of acquisition of land has been estimated at Rs. 2.65 lakhs, *i.e.*, Rs. 132-8-0 per acre. In Scheme No. 141, the Government propose to conserve private forests and afforest private waste-lands, at first in the four districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore, at a cost of Rs. 7.3 lakhs in the first five years. Capital and recurring expenditures will be Rs. 2.8 and Rs. 4.5 lakhs, respectively. But this Scheme gives no indication as to what is meant by capital expenditure in this case; neither does it make clear whether the private foresters are to be given loans or their forests and waste-lands are to be acquired or controlled by the Government. The high recurring expenditure probably shows that this Scheme mainly proposes to set up a supervising and controlling body. Under Scheme No. 142 the Staff of the Soil Conservation Circle will cost nearly Rs. 4 lakhs a year. In my view, the Government would do well not to create such a costly Circle just now. A section of this Scheme proposes the acquisition of 150 sq. miles at an average cost of Rs. 150 per acre, within 5 years. The capital expenditure of Rs. 1.5 crores for acquisition of lands and the recurring expenditure of Rs. 12 lakhs for Establishment are almost prohibitive. If afforestation is to depend on acquisition of lands at such high costs, it will never succeed in Bengal, though it may succeed in Great Britain. It is far better for the Government to try the other method of holding lands on rent. Such rent should be determined on the basis of custom, fertility of the soil, the possible cost for preparing the land for plantation, its distance from the market and other relevant considerations. The average rent on this basis, should not be more than four annas per bigha, and in some cases it should not exceed one anna. The Government should have summary power to hold these lands on such rents as are determined by the Forest Rent Board to be set up for this purpose. Moreover, the Government should tax immediately all lands lying vacant, at a rate sufficiently high to induce the owners either to bring them under cultivation or afforestation or to let them out to the Government. Scheme No. 143 for the improvement of communications, the conversion of cart roads to motor roads, construction of buildings, water-supply, etc., is highly desirable in the interest of the fullest exploitation and most economic extraction of timber and other forest

[1] Post-War Reconstruction in Bengal, 1945 (Govt. of Bengal Publication), pp. 251-2.

produce. Two points need emphasis. The motors to be used by the Forest Department, should be run by charcoal gas. Secondly, more attention should be paid to the housing needs of the forest labourers and lower staff than to sanitary fittings and buildings for the upper staff. Scheme No. 144 proposes to expend Rs. 2.25 lakhs annually for Game Preservation. This is at present quite unnecessary. For I think, the existing arrangements under which the Senchal, Mongpong, Chapramari sanctuaries and the Jaldapara Game Reserve are maintained under the control of the Forest Rangers, are more or less, sufficient for the present. Scheme No. 140 for the training of students is commendable; but, one naturally asks why such training should not be possible in Bengal? All the forest officers that I have met have explained the undeveloped condition of our forests on the ground that sufficient number of trained officers is not available. If this be so, why should not the University of Calcutta be immediately empowered and equipped to solve this problem? With its staff of botanists, chemists, zoologists, engineers and economists of highest distinctions, certainly the Calcutta University should be in a position to give the best forest education to Bengali students in the shortest time at the lowest cost, if the Government take it into their head to help the University in this matter with the necessary finance and facilities. What Oxford and Edinburgh can and Rangoon University could do certainly the greatest University of the East is in a position to do.

Scheme No. 139 proposes to spend so huge an amount as Rs. 35 lakhs in 5 years for rehabilitation of existing Government forests, for repairing the damages caused by "very heavy advance fellings necessitated by the war," for re-stocking such areas, for repairing roads and buildings neglected since 1940, for making up arrears in planting and for creating a Second Working Plan Division. The whole scheme should be rejected; for, the forest expenditures of the war years were not below the pre-war average and it is questionable why the growing stock should have been neglected, why planting should have fallen in arrears, why roads and bridges were not repaired, etc. Moreover, advance-fellings and damages have been highly exaggerated. According to Sir H. Howard, the excess felling was only 162% for all-India over the normal annual pre-war figure. "Taken as a total this means $1\frac{1}{2}$ years advance fellings and is really as infinitesimal over-draft on the forest capital of India—far less

than the advance fellings of most other countries." [1] The present Working Plan Division does not seem to be over-worked. It should be able to do the work for which a second Working Plan Division has been proposed. Bengal cannot afford lavish expenditure, especially where economy is still possible.

It is to be seriously noted that neither these schemes nor the Forest Policy of Sir Howard envisage the industrialisation of our forests or the concentrated plantation of definite especies in definite areas with the specific purpose of continuously supplying forest industries with their raw materials. This brings me to my last point. I request the Government to set up immediately a Forest Industrialisation Board, composed of two Agricultural experts, three Superior Forest Offices (one silviculturist, and two Utilisation Officers) and two industrialists, with the Minister of Forests as the Chairman—to function as a co-ordinating body to harmonise the needs of agriculture, forestry and industry; to allot definite areas in definite districts for farm wood-lands; to determine the most suitable means for bringing such areas under plantation (whether through acquisition or control of management of private waste-lands through Regional Forest Officers); to realise the four objects which form the basis of this forest policy, and, above all, to re-organise the forests and manage them in such a way that (*a*) Paper and paper pulp, (*b*) artificial silk, (*c*) celluloid, (*d*) match, (*e*) wood-distillation, (*f*) charcoal, (*g*) wood-oil, (*h*) tanning extracts, (*i*) bee-keeping and honey, (*j*) cane, bamboo, baskets and umbrella sticks, (*k*) medicinal and other herbal extractions, (*l*) tea-boxes, (*m*) ply-wood and veneer industries—might be established as early as possible on sound and scientific basis, in the heart of the forests or at the foot-hills, or at any other suitable place to make for the fullest utilisation of all forest raw materials with cheap wood-fuel as power. I have already pointed out how such a scheme will enable the utilisation of small scantlings in the preparation of " pre-Fabricated " wooden houses on a very large scale. Many forest products and by-products, otherwise thrown away or wasted would be of economic value, if they are treated scientifically and on a very large scale within or near the forests and then sent to the centres of consumption as finished commodities. As an example, I may cite the case of the *Nal* grass (*Phargmites karka*). The Titaghur Paper Mills, Ltd., found it as yielding "a fairly good"

[1] Sir H. Howard—Post-war Forest Policy, 1944, p. 24.

paper-pulp, but reported that " in the raw state it is more costly to handle, transport and store than other materials." Hence, it thought that " at the present price....it is not an economical proposition." [1] Is it really an insoluble problem? If our factories, instead of being built at Calcutta or in its suburbs, were established in the forests or in the foot-hills, as in Germany, Finland, Tennese Valley and almost all other countries, could we not have fully utilised all these resources which are at present being wasted because of high freights? The industrial prejudice of establishing factories in congested areas, *i.e.*, cities or other suburbs, should be given up as quickly as possible. If the mountain does not go to Mahomet, Mahomet goes to the mountain. This is common sense and wisdom. To-day our tea-gardens are situated in habitable hills but once they were really within the forests. Our forest industries, if they grow within the forests, can make them more beautiful, more tidy, more healthy than the towns. Besides, they will give steady employment to millions of men. The Government should render liberal financial assistance to all private enterprises in this field, while, under the direction of the Board, it should not only co-ordinate the activities of the three departments, but go forward and itself start several factories both as models and as first steps towards nationalisation.

[1] Bengal Forest Administration Report, 1940-41, p. 74.

Round the World

Suspension of Death Penalty in Britain—

A bill regarding the administration of criminal justice in the United Kingdom was recently passed by the House of Commons. One of the provisions of this bill was that for four years death penalty for any offence would be suspended as an experimental measure. This provision was adopted by the House by a narrow majority. It is pointed out that the adoption of this clause was made possible by the fact that the Government was not clear about the matter in its mind and could not issue any straight direction to its supporters in the chamber. At the time of writing the bill is before the House of Lords and although the second reading is over, it is expected that in the committee stage this provision may be cut out with the object of giving the House of Commons a fresh opportunity of revising its own decision and acting in consonance with public opinion in the country. The speech which the Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt, made in this connection during the second reading of the bill was interesting. It showed that the Government was at least divided in its opinion as to the utility of the suspension of death penalty. He pointed out that he was not in favour of the suspension which the bill provided for. " Hanging is, of course, a grim and horrible business. So is murder. I believe," he observed, " that hanging cuts down murders. Because of that I am opposed to abolishing capital punishment." Lord Oakley who presided over the Nuremberg Tribunal was also forthright in opposing the suspension of death penalty. While the British public justified and supported the death penalty awarded to Germans who perpetrated crimes in the heat of war, it was inconsistent on their part, he observed, to ask for the abolition of this penalty in the case of British nationals who might be guilty, in peace time of offences equally heinous.

Future of Japanese Industry—

A Japanese trade delegation is in India at the time of writing this paragraph. Its object is mainly to facilitate the export of raw materials from India to Japan and the import of finished goods from Japan to this country. Members of the delegation are having conversations with the different chambers of commerce and will have such talks also with Government spokesmen. The delegation was sponsored by the occupying authorities and must have their blessings in its mission. But the arrival of these delegates from Japan raises in our mind the question whether the Anglo-American authorities are willing at all to give Japan a chance of recovering its pre-war industrial position.

The rise of Japan as a modern state, well-equipped with its own industrial and military organisation, was not welcome to the Western powers when the full implications of this rise were brought home to them. This rise was actually regarded as a challenge to white supremacy in the world. The second world war and the foolishness of the Japanese military clique in implicating Japan in this war gave the Western democracies an opportunity of taking vengeance upon this Asiatic power for its temerity to behave as an equal of the white nations. Not only contrary to all rules which have so far been adopted for humanising war there was an experiment of the vicious atom bomb upon the people of these islands but after the defeat which Japan thus sustained there was a demand from white peoples for the disbandment of the Japanese army, navy and air force, for the destruction not only of military industry but also of all heavy industry in the country and for making Japan henceforward a mere agricultural country so that in the future it might never compete with any white nation.

Cries like these were raised in Britain, in the United States and more so in Australia where the seven million whites have monopolised a continent for themselves and are unwilling to share it with any Asiatic people. These white Australians are apprehensive that if Japan again emerges as a great power, it may be difficult to maintain this monopoly in the face of opposition from that country. That explains why the Australians are so vehement in their opposition to the proposal of the occupying authorities that some heavy industries might be allowed to survive in Japan. Nor are industrial interests in Britain and the U.S.A. willing to lag behind in opposing any development in Japan which may ultimately jeopardise their own position. For instance Reuter informs us that sometime ago Anglo-U.S. Textile Conference adopted the proposal that Japanese textile industry which had a capacity before the war of 1,16,00,000 spindles should now be restricted to 35,00,000 or in other words to one-third its former capacity.

Lancashire cotton interest is already active in this regard and the President of the Board of Trade has been moved so that the British Government might bring pressure to bear upon the occupying authorities for the acceptance of this recommendation. The sooner, however, these machinations are made impossible, the better for Japan and the world. Japan was defeated two years and a half ago. If she had done any wrong by making war in 1941 and conducting it in a manner unacceptable to the civilised world, she has made recompense for it by being the target of the first atom bombs, by sustaining one humiliation after another at the hands of the conquering generals in different parts of the Far-Eastern theatre of war and by remaining at the beck and call of the occupying authorities for this long period. It is time that the occupying forces are withdrawn, that Japan is set on her legs and that the country is allowed to grow and prosper according to its own lead and light.

American Presidential Election, 1948—

More than half a year is still to go before the next presidential election comes off in the United States. But the Republican Convention will meet in June and the Democratic Convention in July to select the party candidates. It is unlikely that the Democratic Party which has been installed in the White House since 1933 will have its lease renewed next November. Already in 1946 the Party lost its majority in both houses of the Congress to the Republicans. That indicated the natural swing of public opinion in the country and there will be nothing surprising if the Republicans have an easy come-back to the White House in the next election. It is, therefore, important as to who is chosen the Republican candidate for the presidency.

For some weeks there was a MacArthur boom in the United States. His war exploits and his successful handling of the Japanese affairs during the last two years and a half made him a candidate acceptable to some people. But there are many handicaps from which he suffers. One of them is certainly his age. The President of the United States is one of the hardest-worked officials in the world. The burden on his shoulders is really too great even for a comparatively young man unless he has considerable physical resources. In any event MacArthur's supporters and admirers tried the primaries of two states and in each one MacArthur had a bad and even nasty defeat. The competitor who came off with flying colours in these primaries was Harold Stassen, the former Governor of Minnesota. After this experiment it is unlikely that MacArthur's candidature will be revived. It may be said to have been buried in the Wisconsin primaries.

Thomas Dewey, the Governor of the Empire State, was the Republican presidential candidate in 1944. The defeat inflicted on him by Franklin Roosevelt was no disgrace for him. He has some positive advantages also which may stand him in good stead. Born in 1902, he is still young and is expected to bear the presidential burden without difficulty. His experiences in administrative line are also immense. A graduate of the University of Michigan, he was at first inclined to a musical career but soon he changed his mind, took a law degree in the Columbia University, New York, and became a lawyer. He first made his mark when he was appointed chief assistant to the United States District Attorney for the southern district of New York in 1931. In 1933 he stepped into the shoes of his boss for a while.

During this period he showed enthusiasm, vigour and organisational skill in bringing gangsters and racketeers to book. So he rose from office to office and in 1942 was elected Governor, at the age of forty, of the most important state in the Union. He did not resign when he contested the presidential election in 1944 and consequently defeat in that election did not interrupt his career. In 1946 when his four-year term was over, he was

re-elected Governor of the New York state. This long administrative experience combined with his hold on the voters of this state might make him a useful candidate for the Republican Party. But these advantages are neutralised by the defeat he sustained in 1944. It may be repeated that this defeat was no disgrace for him. But as a rule a Party may decline to experiment with the same man on two occasions. Secondly, he is a man without any charm. He may not by his personality attract the floating votes to his side. This also may be regarded as a positive handicap.

We have already mentioned the name of Stassen in whose favour the primaries in two states rejected the nomination of MacArthur. He is even younger than Dewey. Born in 1907 he is now in his early forties. But he also has considerable administrative experience to his credit. He has no pretensions to aristocratic lineage. He is of poor farmer stock, and is a third-generation American, his grandfather having come to the United States in 1871 from Austria. On the father's side he is a German of Czech descent and on the mother's side he is a German with some Norwegian blood. As expected of this man of Teutonic origin, he has considerable doggedness in him and once he takes to a matter he pursues it to the logical end. At the University of Minnesota where he worked his way up, he had a reputation for great industry and minute attention to the details of his study. Out of the University he settled down as a lawyer like Dewey and like him again he was elected county attorney almost immediately. This was a political office and Stassen was over head and ears in politics soon after he had finished his studies at the University and taken up the profession of law.

As District Attorney he like Dewey showed great ability and skill in hunting out the gangsters. So his name became soon well known and people began to talk of his future. In 1938 he became a candidate for the Governorship of his state—Minnesota—and was duly elected. The tenure of office of the Governor in this state is two years. After serving two terms he sought another but warned the electorate that if returned again he would serve only for a few months and then join the United States Navy in which young men with first class administrative experience were necessary. The people acted up to his advice, elected him Governor for the third term and released him after four months, so that he might serve his country as a Captain of the Navy. He actually served in this latter capacity until 1945 when he was appointed by President Roosevelt one of the United States delegates to the Sanfrancisco Conference. Harold Stassen is a man of great courage, absolute integrity, and indomitable pertinacity. Again though a Republican, he is a liberal and is likely to look to the interests of the small man with whom his interests have been identified. His popularity in mid-western states is immense and other states may easily catch the contagion. So Dewey may have to yield to Stassen. But also beware of Taft and Vandenberg.

Representation of Scheduled Castes and Future of the Country—

The scheduling of a number of backward castes of the Hindu community for the purpose of special and separate representation in the legislatures and services was the last contribution of British rule in India to the growth of fissiparous forces in this country. The representation of these castes in the legislatures would have been provided for through absolutely separate electorates but for the intervention which Gandhiji made through his fast unto death at Poona. This intervention softened the projected arrangement in this that after the primary stage of the selection of candidates, final election would be through joint electorates and not through separate electorates of scheduled caste voters alone, as provided for before. Subject to this modification the castes, scheduled for the purpose, practically became a separate entity.

The fissiparous forces let loose by the policy of the British Government had their culmination in the division of the country in August, 1947. It was expected that after this partition and the disasters which accompanied it, statesmen in the Indian Union would set their face stubbornly against any kind of separatist demand. It is unfortunate, however, that while refusing to make any concession in this regard in some other cases the leaders in the Constituent Assembly softened their attitude in respect of the Scheduled castes. Although the final decision has not yet been made, the recommendation so far is that the scheduled castes would have their representation reserved by the Constitution, though their representatives would be returned through joint electorates.

This mellowing in regard to the scheduled castes may have undesirable results. We are not concerned here with the attitude of Dr. Ambedkar towards the Congress and his colleagues in the Government of India's Cabinet. In this regard the original report of his speech at Lucknow has been followed by a revised version which he has thought necessary to issue. But in both the versions his idea as to the future role of the scheduled castes has been brought out into clear relief. He would not like the scheduled caste representatives to join any national party, be it the Congress or the Socialist Party. He would expect them to form a party of their own so that it might be a balancing factor in the future set-up of things and might thereby eke out as much advantage for the scheduled castes as possible.

In other words, in the scheme of Dr. Ambedkar the scheduled castes would have a communal party of their own in the legislature, which would look not so much to the interests of the country as a whole as to those of the scheduled castes alone. This is a political attitude which, we thought, would be made impossible after the partition of the country. But the provision for reserved representation for a group would always tend to bring about this outlook. This ought to have been borne in mind by our leaders

in the Constituent Assembly. We hope they may still reconsider the position in the light of the observations made by Dr. Ambedkar. It should be emphasised in this connection that there are other groups in the country which may walk in the foot-steps of the scheduled caste leaders and create afresh those centrifugal forces which will as much undermine the permanent interests of the country as Muslim separatism has done already. It may be pointed out in this connection that there are interested sections of people in the country which are trying to consolidate the Sikhs as a separate political entity and make them play the same part which the Muslims had played in the past. If again the scheduled castes and Sikhs may become separate political entities, how long will it take for the Muslims in the Indian Union to cure themselves of their nationalism and raise the cry of Muslimism. There should be no loop-hole in the Constitution through which any form of separatism may enter the body politic. It should be known that a patch of cloud no bigger than a man's hand may soon overcast the sky. Separatism is a contagious disease, which, at first localised, may soon spread the infection and poison the whole body politic. Let us beware.

Medium of Instruction in Universities—

Sometime ago a Committee was constituted by the Government of India to go into the question of the medium of instruction in the university stage of education. This Committee consisted of the Vice-Chancellors of twenty-four Universiics in the Indian Union, Sir Santiswarup Bhatnagar and Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji. It was to be presided over by Dr. Tarachand, who is now the Educational Adviser to the Government of India. The Committee met at New Delhi some time ago made several recommendations, the first of which is to the effect that the next five years should be regarded as a period of transition during which English would continue as the medium of instruction but during which efforts should also be made to substitute for English either the language of the Indian Union or the language of the province or region in which the University is located, so that on the expiry of the transition period this language might become the only medium of instruction. Where the local language is made the medium of instruction, the federal language and literature would be a subject of study for all students but the result of any test thereon would not have any effect on the academic career of the student. The script of the federal language would be the one adopted by the Constituent Assembly, and that of the local or regional language would be either the existing script of that language or the script of the federal language as adopted by the Constituent Assembly. English, when no longer the medium of instruction, would continue as a compulsory language in the University stage.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Cross-roads of Science and Philosophy. By Dr. A. N. Bose, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.

In these days of over-specialisation one scarcely comes across a really valuable work unless it be by one who has specialised in the particular subject. The work under review here is a clear departure from the normal rule. The author, professedly a historian, has selected a subject for which, by strict academic tests, he may very reasonably be considered to be a layman. And yet with remarkable grasp and ability he takes us over a field where even a specialist and a tried expert will find his bearings with difficulty.

The work is divided into three parts—Part I dealing with " Modern Scientific Philosophy," Part II with " Dialectical Materialism " and Part III with " Indian Thought." Every Part bears evidence both of wide reading and critical grasp and will repay perusal even by experts in the subject. The present reviewer is in complete agreement with the author's critique of Dialectical Materialism and recommends Part II to the confirmed Marxist for careful perusal and reply, if any. Part III dealing with " Indian Thought " seems to require revision here and there, especially in regard to the presentation of the Sankarite case which is not as easily disposed of as some may think. The author's equation of objectivity and existence (pages 112-113), or, as one would say, objectivity and reality will be repudiated by every Sankarite as an untenable dogma that is not warranted either by strict logic or by the evidence of experience. And yet this is the pivot on which the author and others (such as Sri Arabinda) rest their case for the reality of the world-appearance as against the Sankarite Mayavada and the doctrine of the undifferenced absolute.

S. K. Maitra.

The Depressed Classes. By Mohinder Singh, M.A., Ph.D. Hind Kitabs Ltd. Bombay, 1947. Pp. 213. Price Rs. 7-8.

The book is a doctorate dissertation undertaken by the author at the University of Lucknow under the guidance of Professor R. K. Mukherjee who has written an introduction to the publication.

The Depressed Classes represent an important problem on the correct solution of which depends largely the future of the country. It is, therefore, a matter of congratulation that a trained student of Economics and Sociology should make a systematic and detailed study of the question. As the sub-title of the book would indicate the author concentrates on the economic and social conditions of the people belonging to these classes.

The main source of the author appears to be the Census Reports. They must not, however, be taken as a sure guide regarding the classes of people who should be called depressed or untouchable. In fact there is more than one opinion as to this important question. The Reports of the Hartog Committee, the Simon Commission, and the Lothian Committee have each its own suggestions and estimates in this regard. That these estimates and suggestions made either by a Committee, or a Census Commissioner or the Government may not necessarily be correct is illustrated by the emphatic protest made by the Rajbansis in Bengal against their inclusion in the category of untouchables. That is why one should be very cautious in the estimate of the number of people who may be called untouchable. The Simon Commission for instance estimated that the number of untouchables in Bengal was 11.5 million, whereas the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee (auxiliary to the Lothian Committee) estimated their number to be only 72,000 in the whole province (undivided Bengal). The author has, of course, travelled through different provinces and has collected some data through personal enquiry. But in view of the fact that so many castes are involved and so many provinces have to be covered, it is not possible to collect data personally in most cases. One has invariably to depend on the materials supplied by Census and other reports which are, however, no sure guide.

Possibly the best way to undertake a detailed study of the problem will be to select a group of scholars and assign to each of them the study of an important scheduled caste. For instance the Namasudras in Bengal or the Chamars in Bihar may be the subject of a separate study. In such separate monographs it will be possible by personal enquiry not only to delineate the factors which make these castes untouchable but also to mark the improvement in different aspects of their status, effected during the last two decades both by Government action and by change of attitude on the part of the general people.

Meanwhile Dr. Singh's book should be widely read and the facts which he has incorporated therein should give food for thinking.

N. C. Roy.

The Call of the East. By Jal K. Wadia. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933), Ltd., 3, Esplanade East, Calcutta (W. Thacker & Co., London) —First published in 1947—Double Crown 16mo + Pp. xiv. 121—Price Rs. 2-8.

In the present age of blackmailing and blackmarketing, when the knowledge of material science is being utilized not so much for constructive purposes as for destructive activities, when the powers that be seek to eclipse one another with the misuse of their power, when the whole world is groaning under the choking pressure of war, famine and epidemics, when the dumb

millions silently shed their tears, sweat and blood to fill up the coffers of the capitalists—to be precise, when peace and prosperity seem to have bidden adieu to this dark and barren world for ever,—' The Call of the East,' coming as it does, from the pen of a devotee of one of the ancient prophets of the East who preached the message of universal peace and goodwill, will at first sight seem to be sriking a note utterly discordant with the current tune of the world-politics.

A handsomely got up little brochure, with an alluring cover, giving a glimpse as it were of the dreamy East where the undercurrent of mysticism has not yet vanished even among the most cheerless prosaic surroundings of to-day—The Call of the East ' does not belie its captivating title. Divided in nine Chapters of abiding interest, the booklet deals with the message of peace and the religious thoughts of the East, the formation of Man and the transition from savage to saint and finally concludes with the spiritual practices which serve as paths to Divine Realization. Though based mainly on the creed of Spitama Zaraquśtra, the book is a study in Comparative Religion, and faithfully follows the teachings of Śrī Rāmakrishna.

Though small in size, the book has rather an ambitious project, as will be evident from the descriptive leaflet attached. " To the World The Call of the East, when accepted and practised, will bring peace and prosperity, brotherhood, trust and confidence between nations.....To the individual the book.....will open the gate to mental power, strength of character, and spiritual force ; to peace and tranquility of mind ever in the midst of greatest miseries and sufferings, and to the knowledge and meaning of life, nature, Divinity and Self. The great Yoga philosophy is also simplified for better understanding and easy practice by Yogic exercises leading to mental, moral and spiritual development."

The serious student of Comparative Religion is sure to find immense interest in the entire booklet, and especially in chapters I, II, IV, V, VI and VII.

The author is a young enthusiast, deeply imbued with religious feelings, so much so that he does not regard himself to be the author of the book in its true sense. He has dedicated it to its True Author—the ' Jagad Guru '—who inspired him to write and provided him with the proper requirements. The sale proceeds of the book will also be spent in some religious purpose. May the hope of the mundane author be fulfilled !

The only suggestion that can come from the reviewer's side, is that the book should be provided with an Index of proper names, and that the proper names themselves should be spelt with types having proper diacritical marks in a future edition.

ASOKNATH SHASTRI.

Ourselves

Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mookerjee

It is a pleasing duty on our part to offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee on his elevation to the bench of the High Court at Calcutta. A distinguished alumnus of the University he has been connected with the administration of its affairs in different capacities for nearly three decades. For some years he was also on the teaching staff both in the Post-Graduate Department and in the Law College. But as his practice grew and his work increased at the bar, he had to relinquish his teaching responsibilities. His interest in the administration of the affairs of his *Alma Mater* remained, however, abiding. For some years politics also claimed detailed attention on his part and as a member of the Council of State and a Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation he was in the thick of political activity. But law is a jealous mistress and brooks no rival. He had to turn his back on politics so that he might cultivate law without let or hindrance. In the midst of busy professional life, however, it may be repeated, he maintained a steady interest not only in the work of the University but in that of other cultural bodies in the city. As a trustee of the Indian Museum, as a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and as a member of the Executive and Managing Committees of the National Council of Education he has rendered valued and valuable service to the growth of our cultural life. It is our hope that as a result of his promotion to the bench he will have better and greater opportunities of furthering the interests which he has so much at heart.

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Dr. I. B. Banerjee

Dr. Indubhusan Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., who had been the Head of the Department of History, Calcutta University, since 1944, has been appointed Asutosh Professor of Modern and Mediaeval Indian

History. He has been connected with the University since 1917. We offer our congratulations to Professor Banerjee.

* * * *

Mr. D. N. Banerjee

Mr. D. N. Banerjee who had been Head of the Department of Political Science at the Dacca University has been appointed Surendranath Banerjea Professor of Political Science, Calcutta University. We congratulate Professor Banerjee on his appointment.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. C/5583/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3) Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that the Medical College, Calcutta, shall be permitted to train candidates for the Diploma Examination in Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery as prescribed by the Calcutta University with the permission to present candidates for the examination for the first time in 1949 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Memo No. C/6108/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 the Dinabandhu Mahavidyalay, Bongaon, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular and Alternative Vernacular), Sanskrit, History, Logic, Mathematics, Elements of Civics and Economics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. standard with the permission to present candidates in these subjects from the examinations of 1949 and not earlier.

2. In this connection I am to observe that effective steps should be taken to secure a suitable plot of land and to erect an approved type of building for the college.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Memo. No. C/6118/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1947-48 the Lady Brabourne College shall be affiliated in Sanskrit to the B.A. (Hons.) standard with permission to present candidates in the subject from the examination of 1949 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

was put to death by the cruel hand of another son of man. The mortal remains of the great master have mixed with the five elements. His body indeed has perished. His soul rules us yet—

Father of all in every age, in every clime adored
By saint, by savage or by sage.

Members of the Convocation, will you rise in your seats and pray in silence for two minutes for his great soul ?

Last August, when the first streaks of the dawn of freedom delighted our eyes, peace came to strife-ridden Calcutta and to West Bengal through the untiring and the undying efforts of Gandhiji. We were in fond hopes that that peace would bless him that gave it and all of us throughout the length and breadth of India. We were in fond hopes that human passion would cease to degenerate into orgies of violence and vulgarity. Our fond hopes did not come true.

In the land of the five rivers, the traditional early home of the Aryans, there burst communal thunder from the eternal blue of the sky above. In the name of liberty, in the name of religion, in the name of nationality, were perpetrated the worst horrors on humanity. Before such horrors, the sack of Magdeburg during the wars of religion in mediaeval Europe or the massacre at Blagovyeshchensk in the Lena gold fields of Siberia, pale away. Five million human souls, on each side, have been uprooted from their soil, their hearth, their home. They have become refugees on other's soil. Our Government at the Centre has been grappling with the colossal problem of their settlement and rehabilitation. It is a problem which has no parallel in recorded history. We, in this University, have been flooded with applications for admission of students from the University of

the Panjab. Some of them have come all the way to Calcutta, without money, without books, without their certificates and diplomas.

Apart from these refugee students from the Punjab, we have been faced also with the problem of an exodus of students from our neighbouring province of today—East Bengal. Official figures estimate this exodus at more than a million. This is an obvious underestimate. This exodus has been due to panic and a sense of insecurity. Panic knows no reason. It listens to no argument. It does not think of consequences. The boys and girls who have come to us from East Bengal are the flesh of our flesh, the bone of our bone. The University has strained itself to the utmost in trying to find accommodation for them in their new homes. With the co-operation of our Government of West Bengal, this University gave recognition to eight new colleges at Basirhat, Gobardanga, Bangaon, Agartala, Naihati, Howrah and Calcutta this year. We granted extension of affiliation to the College de Bussey at Chandernagore, the Lady Brabourne College in Calcutta, the Islamia College in Calcutta, the College at Malda and the Berhampore Girls' College. The great colleges in Calcutta in the faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine and Engineering, have been working under abnormal pressure, in shifts. The question of finance stares these Colleges in the face. We have made representations to the Government of West Bengal and the Government at the Centre for financial assistance to these over-worked institutions. The question of residence for the boys and girls coming from East Bengal in an over-populated metropolis like Calcutta, demands insistent solution. For days and for nights,

these children of ours made the platforms of the railway stations, their homes.

On the 15th of August, 1947, we had on our rolls 794 high schools. 350 of them enjoyed permanent and 444 of them enjoyed provisional recognition. In less than six months' time, 48 new high schools have been admitted to the list. Independent integers, called Indian States, like Manipur, Cooch-Behar and Tripura, have, even after their accession to the Central Union, chosen voluntarily to remain with us. Our neighbouring city of Chandernagore has also exercised the same choice.

The difficulties through which my University, your University, passed during the course of the last two years of my term of office, will ever remain enshrined in the memory of us all. Perhaps a small corner will be reserved for us in the story of our country. At the end of the greatest war of destruction known to humanity, we were enveloped in an atmosphere of violence. Rising prices brought on an economic crisis unprecedented in history. Youth became restless. The conflict for higher wages in a misconceived notion for self-preservation, cast a baleful shadow on our cloister of learning. A tribunal has been dealing with this problem.

The partition of India and the partition of Bengal led to the contraction of the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta, and has affected our finances to an abnormal extent. At the last Convocation, I had the privilege of welcoming the creation of the University of Gauhati in Assam and of the expansion of our daughter University of Dacca in Eastern Bengal. The University of Gauhati started functioning under the law, from the 1st of January, 1948. We are virtually conducting the examinations of this year for that

University. We have also rendered such help as was possible for us to render to the expanded University of Dacca. I am glad to state to you that the relationship between the mother University and the daughter Universities are very cordial and friendly. Our daughters are now mistresses of their own household.

Partition, separation and new creation have led to a yawning gap in our budget. Our budgets have never been prosperous budgets through the life of this University, during the past thirty-five years. We have lost an annual revenue of more than ten lakhs of rupees. The number of candidates for the Matriculation Examination in 1947, was sixty-two thousand. This year the number of candidates has come down to about thirty thousand. The number of candidates for the Intermediate Arts and Science examinations in 1947, was twenty thousand. The number of candidates for the same examinations this year has been about fourteen thousand. The number of candidates for the B.A., B.Sc. and B.Com. examinations last year was seven thousand five hundred. This year the number is likely to come down to about five thousand.

The revenues of this University come from four sources. By far our biggest source is examination fees and tuition fees. They constitute the contribution of the public to education. Secondly, we have been receiving an annual grant of Rs. 5,25,000 from the Government of Bengal, ever since the year 1942. Thirdly, the revenue from our endowments comes up to about two lakhs of rupees. These endowments are a source both of pleasure and pain. They typify the appreciation of generous donors. They impose also obligations upon our finances. The fourth source of our revenue consists of subventions for specific purposes from the Centre and the Provinces.

APPENDIX A

CONVOCATION ADDRESS *

PROF. P. N. BANERJEE, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

YOUR EXCELLENCY, FELLOW GRADUATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

The convention of ninety years bids me address you now. My first words are words of the most cordial welcome to the public orator of today, Mr. K. M. Munshi. For the first time in the chequered story of this University, an honoured guest from the western part of India comes and meets us at our Convocation in this the most eastern part of the Indian Union. I offer, on my behalf and on behalf of the Senate of this University, our greetings to our graduates and the ladies and gentlemen who have assembled here today, to take part in this the greatest of our annual functions.

On my personal behalf, and on behalf of the University of Calcutta, I offer our warmest congratulations to the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, on his assumption of the high office of the Premier of West Bengal. Dr. Roy is one of the most eminent of our graduates. He has been a member of the Senate of this University continuously for the last thirty-two years. He was one of our Vice-Chancellors. He piloted our frail barque through the storm and stress of war years. He represents this University in the legislature of this Province.

In my Convocation address last year, scarcely six months old, I had the privilege of making my

* Speech delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held on 20th March, 1948.

submissions against those amongst us who regarded convocations as priest-ridden ceremonies. Convocation addresses do not present annual reports of the functions of the University either. They interpret the message of the University to its graduates—new and old. They paint and draw in bold colours and reliefs the policy of the University not merely for the years gone by, but for the years that are to come. It is a matter of relief to us all, that we have been able to take back our Convocation almost to the old time-table.

During the past six months, cruel death has taken its never-ending toll from us. In Mahamahopadhyay Durgacharan Sankhya-Vedantatirtha we have lost our Sreegopal Basumallik Fellow, the Province has lost one of the most erudite scholars, belonging to the old school of thought. In Dr. B. C. Ghosh we have lost the services of a Principal of one of the biggest colleges in the city, standing as a monument to the revered memory of Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, one of the founders and pioneers of the modern system of education in these provinces. In Jitendranath Chakraborti and Ladlimohan Mitra, the Bangabasi College, another of our greatest institutions, has lost the devoted services of two of its professors. The University of Calcutta will mourn their death in years to come. Both of them died in harness.

We mourn here today the greatest loss that humanity has suffered 'since the world began and the diapason closed full in man.' The debt of harassed Bengal, of India, the downtrodden East, and of the suffering humanity, all the wide world over, to Mahatma Gandhi, is a debt which cannot be repaid. The tragedy of human life is that the greatest son of man, not in the prime of his life and in the midst of his hopes, fears and aspirations,

After the passing of the Government of India Act 1919, and the transfer of education to the ministry in these provinces, for a period of almost thirty years, the Centre absolutely forgot us. This year, I am glad to state, the Government of India has made an interim grant to our University for the development of our Post-Graduate departments of Applied Physics and Applied Chemistry.

The Government of West Bengal has also very generously made provision in the budget of the present year (1948-49) for the sum of Rs. 14,64,000. This sum includes the sum of Rs. 5,25,000 referred to above. It represents the consolidated grant for the maintenance of all the departments of the University. The sum of Rs. 4,64,000 has also been budgeted for the current year as against the sum of Rs. 3,00,000 for the year 1947-48 for enabling the University to pay Dearness Allowance to its employees at rates sanctioned by government for its own employees. The Government has also allotted in its budget the sum of Rs. 1,74,000, by way of additional grant to the Post-Graduate departments. In addition, grants for the improvement of research work and improvement of the University College of Science have been fixed at Rs. 1,00,000 and a grant of the sum of Rs. 2,00,000 has been made for the extension of the Physics Laboratory of the University College of Science.

From a study of these generous grants it will be clear that as yet the Government of West Bengal has made no provision for meeting the deficit in the revenues of the University due to factors over which this University had no control. It has not also been able to make provision for future expansion of the University. Consolidation and stabilisation of University finances are well-known canons of administration. A University, however, must be a

dynamic body. It must move with the times. It must satisfy the needs of an evergrowing society. If it rests merely on its past achievements, it leads itself to stagnation. Stagnation to a University means death. Our Government of West Bengal has not yet been able to redeem the promise made by Sir Abdur Rahim in unregenerate undivided Bengal in 1931, that Government subvention to this University will be placed on a statutory basis. Our daughter University of Dacca enjoyed this right during the last fifteen years that Dacca functioned under the jurisdiction of undivided Bengal. I plead earnestly to the Government of West Bengal that the annual grant by the government to our University be placed on a statutory basis so that University finance and University policy might not be called upon to trim their sails to every gust of wind in the country and to every change in the personnel of the administration.

We, on our part, do not desire, in any way, to embarrass our national Governments. The revenues of the University must be augmented by small addition in the examination fees of our students. The Finance Committee of the University decided to raise examination fees by Rs. 5 only for the purpose of making good our loss in revenues. The decision of the Finance Committee was not brought before the Senate nor before the Government, for we all realised that the country along with the University was passing through a financial crisis. That crisis still persists. Perhaps we have turned the corner. We have not raised our examination fees during the course of the last thirty years. The examination expenses in the mean time have gone up. It will no longer be possible, in the abnormal financial situation in the country, to pay remuneration to our examiners at the accustomed rates. Their task

is heavy. They toil and sweat. They discharge judicial functions. They build up careers. We cannot afford to take advantage of their spirit of service.

Apart from the needs of the teaching University of Calcutta, the greatest teaching University of India of today, we have to consider carefully and with utmost sympathy, the financial requirements of our constituent colleges and of the high schools within this Province, yet enjoying recognition from this University. The professors in our constituent colleges are terribly underpaid. The salaries of qualified teachers in our schools beggar all description. The Post-Graduate Department of the University is the apex of our educational system. It must, however, be sustained on a broad base. Unless the colleges and schools within our jurisdiction are brought up to the proper level, unless they are better equipped, unless they are made financially more solvent, unless original thinking and strict discipline are encouraged, reorientated, exacted from them, higher study and research cannot flourish.

Our colleges and schools require better and greater accommodation. They require better libraries. They must pay individual attention to the students. The salaries and the conditions of the teachers must be improved. In one word, they must be made self-contained useful units of the society.

A new paradox in our system of University education has come. The Governments in the Centre and in the Provinces, the rich firms, have now entered into a competition for the purpose of securing the services of competent men from our University. If adequate salaries, if proper status, if necessary provision for the future are not made by our University, then we shall merely be treated as the

recruiting ground for the other departments and agencies of the State.

Our proud motto has, throughout these years, been "Advancement of Learning." A University cannot afford to stagnate. We have just appointed Dr. Pabitrakumar Sen—Guruprasad Singh Professor of Agriculture. This chair is maintained out of the munificent endowment of Guruprasad Singh, Raja of Khaira. Such has been the conception of us all—of the University as also of the Governments of these provinces—that this chair lay vacant for sixteen years since 1932. There is another chair in Agricultural Chemistry created by the munificence of one of our greatest sons, named after his master and our master, Acharyya Prafullachandra of beloved memory. That chair will be filled up soon. This University will then be spending roughly about fifty thousand rupees a year for the purpose of agricultural research and agricultural development in this Province. At the last Convocation when I pleaded earnestly for the institution of a College of Agriculture, I was under the impression that the establishment of a University College of Agriculture or the institution of a University department of Agriculture was the first claim upon the attention of the University and the Government. My claim has been recognised. The question is whether the Government would establish a College of its own, pursuant to the undertaking given to these provinces during the course of the last thirty years, or should the University be called upon to discharge this most important function.

I invite the Government of West Bengal to come to an immediate decision. The advantages of a University department of Agriculture for the purpose of stimulating study and research are great,

The University has to spend Rs. 50,000 a year. It can always count upon the services of the galaxy of professors in the University College of Science. The Government of undivided Bengal vested its Agricultural college in the University of Dacca. Dacca still retains jurisdiction over it. Calcutta alone lags behind. West Bengal with an area of twenty-eight thousand square miles, a bursting total population of more than twenty-five millions and with the greatest industrial centre in the whole of India in its midst today, must feed its ever-growing population. Mere propaganda from the Secretariat of growing more food and the dissemination of literature on agriculture in English are not likely to solve the complex problem of nutrition in a Province like our own.

May I be permitted to regret my inability and the inability of the University to impress upon the custodians of our public funds the necessity for a School of Architecture in West Bengal? Regulations for instituting degrees in Architecture have, after mature deliberation and anxious consideration for more than fifteen years, been passed, approved and sanctioned. The courses of study yet adorn the statute book. The battle between mere engineers and architects, although over in the University, still rages.

The Engineering regulations of this University were expanded during my first term of office, after the lapse of more than half a century. The architectural studies included within our degree courses in the Faculty of Engineering materially differ from the courses of studies included within our new degrees of Architecture and Human Planning.

The economic and the cultural regeneration of India cannot be achieved at all except through the coordinating efforts of qualified planning

architects. They must be endowed with a general knowledge of education so that every aspect of human thought and activity may be operated to create and stimulate a great nation. The well-planned social order visualized by Mahatma Gandhi in numerous model villages and cities dotted over the happy and free India of the future, can only be carried into execution by the administrator, by co-ordinating and correctly and economically operating simultaneously every item of a broad-based human plan. Engineers, economists, scientists, industrialists, educationists, health experts, will all have to place their talents in strengthening the scheme of national reconstruction. Piecemeal planning of a few items like agriculture, industrialisation, commerce and health services devoid of consistent relationship and unconnected with the problems of surrounding regions, will only do harm. Do we not remember that elaborate schemes against soil erosion, river protection and malaria control, prepared at a considerable expense by great experts have yet adorned the blue books of the Secretariat?

Last October, I ventured to hope that it would be possible for us to install one of the most important departments in social and academic life, *viz.*, the department of Post-Graduate Studies in Medicine. This new department will be a sister department to the departments of Post-Graduate Studies in Arts and Science. They are the crown, the pride and the glory of the University of Calcutta. The Senate has framed regulations for the purpose of the initiation of the department of Post-Graduate Studies in Medicine in this University. The constitution visualized is different from the organisations set up for the departments of Arts and Science. Arts and Science teaching is concentrated in the hands of the University. Post-Graduate Studies

in Medicine will, on the other hand, rest upon a federal principle of multi-collegiate institutions in medical sciences. The constituent colleges and institutions recognised by the University will form the bases on which the superstructure of advanced study and research will be reared. We have to utilize Government as well as private medical institutions in the city. There are at present three medical colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta. They present candidates for the M.B. degree. They are the Calcutta Medical College, the Lake Medical College and the Carmichael Medical College (R. G. Kar Medical College). The first two are the institutions run by the Government of West Bengal. The third represents non-official private enterprise. We have, besides, the School of Tropical Medicine, at present under the control of the Government of West Bengal, and the School of Hygiene yet under the jurisdiction of the Government of India. Two other medical schools in the city have asked for affiliation up to the M.B. standard. I have been told further, that the Government of the day, contemplates the raising of the Campbell Medical School to college standard. We shall then have in Calcutta seven institutions of the collegiate type as against twelve medical colleges throughout the whole of India. India of the future requires more doctors and better doctors. We must encourage and develop researches in Medicine by the institution of the department of Post-Graduate Studies. We shall attempt here a synthesis between the East and the West. We visualize researches which will galvanize into modernity our indigenous institutions, now in a stage of inanition and stagnation, due partly to the system of the rule we lived under, during the last one hundred and fifty years. The task of setting up the first Council of Post-Graduate

Studies in Medicine will be a hard task. It will tax our patience. It will test our tact and judgment. University teachers, in well-known categories, will have to be appointed. A special *ad hoc* Committee for the purpose of establishing the first Council of Post-Graduate Studies in Medicine has therefore been proposed. The constitution of the Committee is representative in character. It is hoped it will claim public confidence in no uncertain manner. With immediate Government sanction, we propose to operate the scheme from the beginning of the next session. Our scheme will be the first of its kind, certainly in India. The idea originally emanated from our distinguished Premier of today, Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy. War and famine, shortness of his tenure of office as Vice-Chancellor did not allow him to complete the scheme.

We have recently expanded the scope of research in the Post-Graduate departments of Arts and Science. The newly created D.Phil. degree has attracted a number of our brilliant young researchers. About twenty of our advanced students have been attached to recognised University teachers for enabling them to prepare theses for the D.Phil. degree. To allow our graduates, holding the degrees of Doctor of Medicine, Master of Surgery and Master of Obstetrics, the opportunity of expanded research, regulations have been framed for enabling them to appear at the the D.Sc. examination of this University.

We realize fully that the system of teaching in our schools, both elementary and secondary, will require more trained teachers and better trained teachers. Our Bachelor of Teaching courses of study, in the University as also in the constituent colleges, cannot turn out even two hundred teachers a year. We are introducing " Education " as one

of the subjects of study for the Master's degrees of this University. We have constructed a syllabus of studies, including "Education," both Honours and Pass, as a subject of study in the examination for the Bachelor's degree in Arts. Proper provision for the stimulation of study and research will be made in the University and its constituent colleges.

The Jute Technological Institute has started building its home, at Ballygunge. The original estimate for the building has exceeded our calculations. The present estimate is about Rs. 12,00,000. The whole of this amount will be contributed to the University by the Jute Mills Association of Bengal. The Association has also undertaken the task of meeting all capital and recurring expenses connected with the Institute. The grateful thanks of the University are due to the Jute Mills Association and specially to Mr. I. G. Kennedy.

The Social Welfare Institute, catering to the needs of all the provincial and the State Governments included within the Indian Union, and of firms and companies situate therein, has not yet secured a habitation. The Government of India grant of Rs. 2,50,000 for the purpose of erecting this Institute is dependent on the ability of the University to raise an equivalent sum of money and also its ability to grant a plot of land whereon the building would stand. The University will be able to fulfil both the conditions. The grant from the Government of India will not be permitted to lapse. The Social Welfare Institute now trains men labour officers. In future, it will be its aim and purpose, to train women labour officers as well, for safeguarding and protecting the interests of women labour in this country.

Through the princely gift of Taraknath Palit of

hallowed memory, the University has a very large plot of land at Ballygunge at its disposal, where we propose to have new buildings for our various departments of Science, including Botany, Zoology, Anthropology, Geology and Geography as also for the School of Architecture and the Social Welfare Institute. In order to round off the valuable properties, the acquisition of nearly eight bighas of land in the neighbourhood of the Palit Buildings at Ballygunge has been undertaken by the Government at the request of the University. The plots of land to be acquired are vacant plots. For this purpose we require a capital sum of about eight lakhs of rupees. We have applied to the Universities' Grants Committee for a capital grant for these acquisitions and for the acquisition of further plots of land near about our University College of Science at 92, Upper Circular Road. If our application is granted, as I have reasons to believe it is likely to be granted, we shall be in a position to expand further the University College of Science with its important departments of Chemistry and Applied Chemistry, Physics and Applied Physics, Physiology, Psychology, Pure and Applied Mathematics. The task of acquisition now is easier than in the past.

An offer of a sum of Rs. 50,000 by a generous donor leads us to the hope of establishing a School of Music in Calcutta. Regulations for the institution of degree courses in Music are in the process of preparation. As soon as the draft regulations are ready, they will be offered for public criticism and for public suggestions. Universities in the West and some of the Universities in India have established degree courses in Music. With our departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture, of Islamic History and Culture, of Fine Arts and Architecture, it is only fitting that a School of Music

should be established. I am not expecting financial assistance from our Governments for the proposed School of Music.

The Institute of Journalism about which I spoke last October, at the Convocation, will start functioning from the July session. Here again we have to rely upon private benefactions. I maintained in the past and I maintain now that a School of Journalism will be very helpful to our budding journalists. After all, Calcutta is a great citadel of journalism. Here again, we know that the University finances are low, and we have been promised substantial donation by one of our distinguished Press barons.

Pursuant to the policy of the Ministry presided over by Dr. Praphullachandra Ghosh, our former Premier, I summoned a number of conferences to advise the University and the Government on larger and greater problems of educational reconstruction in this Province. Conferences of the Principals of our colleges, Headmasters of more than eight hundred high schools, the managers of all these schools and the governors of the colleges assembled and discussed at the University various matters relating to educational reform and came to certain tentative decisions. These decisions are available to the public. One of these decisions related to the complex problem of the medium of instruction and of examinations in this University. The universal consensus of opinion was in favour of Bengali as such medium. English was, however, to retain its compulsory place in the curricula of studies and examinations as a second language. Calcutta is wedded to classicism, and in case Hindi was adopted as the state language of the Indian Union, Hindi will be afforded either an alternative place with classics or an additional place in the curricula of studies

of this University. This was the decision of all these conferences. This decision is in general accord with the decision of the conference of educationists held in Delhi in January, 1948, under the presidency of the Education Minister of the Dominion of India, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. We cannot forget that Bengali is the language of this Province. The imposition of any language other than Bengali, for example, Hindi, in this Province, will not be universally acclaimed. So we are attempting to solve the problem of language in this Province in a non-violent and peaceful manner.

The Syndicate of this University, mainly at my suggestion, adopted this year an experiment of permitting candidates at the Intermediate, the B.A. (Pass), B.Sc. (Pass), and B.Com. examinations, the option to answer questions in all subjects, excepting subjects on languages, either in English or in Bengali. I do hope, the experiment will prove a great success. I am sure, the University will greatly benefit from the answers given by our candidates. Some of them may have thought long and hard over the question of equivalence of technical words and foreign terms. Their suggestions, in the examination papers, will be carefully collected, collated, duly appraised and incorporated into a dictionary of equivalence to be prepared by the Paribhasha Committee set up by the University. The Paribhasha Committee is composed of eminent scholars, linguists and specialists. We have asked for financial assistance from the Centre for meeting the financial expenses of the Paribhasha Committee and for expenses connected with the publication of model books or text-books.

I spoke to you so long about our domestic forum. In these days of nationalistic isolationism, we have not cut ourselves adrift from world currents of thought. We have established a system of ex-

change of professors between ourselves and China, between ourselves and the United States of America, on a modest scale. The scheme will be further expanded. It will not only include exchange of professors between one University and another in India, but will include cultural relationship with the rest of the world. It is a matter of gratification to us that Dr. Amiya Chakravarti of the department of English of this University, has been invited by the American Universities to lecture to their students under this scheme.

During the past six months we listened with deep interest to lectures from lecturers of world-repute invited by us. Dr. Sverre Pettersen, the famous Norwegian Meteorologist delivered a course of lectures on " Weather Phenomenon." Prof. Alexander Findlay, Fellow, Royal Society of England, enlightened us on his thesis about " Chemistry in the Service of Man." Dr. John Heynes Holmes of the Community Church of New York explained to us " Why America is What She is." Professor Rypins of the University of New York lectured on " Race between Education and Catastrophe." Professor Brumpt of the University of Paris lectured on " Medical Researches and Discoveries in France." He postulated the theory that diseases in the human body can be cured by other diseases. Last of all, but not of the least importance, we heard with religious attention the delightful series of lectures delivered by Principal A. R. Wadia on " Some Aspects of Comparative Religion " as the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer of this University. In most of these cases our hospitality was scanty; our ability to remunerate these Lecturers very small.

Fellow graduates of the University of Calcutta, today is a great day in your life and the life of your University. Today your Alma Mater sends you

out to the world at large, fully equipped with all that she could give you. That gift is small. It is absolutely sincere. Will you be able to build your future life in accordance with the charge I administered you today, namely that in your habit and in conversation in life you will be worthy of the degree conferred on you? Will you be able to solve the many problems of your young life—the problems of our great country and the problems of humanity? Life does not run smoothly. Life is not a bed of roses. Life demands from you a sound body, disciplined thought, infinite tact and judgment, never-ending patience. It requires from you dynamic action. May I remind you that you are the hopes of my country and of your country. You represent, symbolize, typify the spirit of the University of Calcutta, yet the greatest in this continent. Future generations, yet unborn, will regard you, respect you as captains in the domain of human understanding and culture. You are the soldiers of India's freedom. Will you be able to steer clear the vessel of the State through the fog of ignorance, of superstition, of prejudice, of selfishness, under the black cloud of violence? The eyes of the whole world are fixed on you. Remember, the greatest study of mankind is man. Remember that self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control lead life to sovereign power.

"Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell;
That mind and soul, according well,
May make one music as before,
But vaster."

Flowers will then laugh before you on their beds and fragrance will surround you in your footing treads.

May a serene sense of duty be the reward of your life of self-sacrifice and of unremitting toil for the upliftment of your country.

My blessings and the blessings of age and wisdom lovingly looking on you today shall be with you always. May you bring victory and greater victory to the land we live in, to your parents who have sacrificed so much for you, and to your great Alma Mater.

Jai Hind

APPENDIX B

CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

SHRI K. M. MUNSHI

I AM indebted to my friend His Excellency the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor for giving me the honour of delivering the Convocation Address for this year; for, this has been a fateful year. In this year we saw our struggle for independence ended. We also saw the land in awful torment when it was rent in twain; millions of our countrymen uprooted from their soil; numberless innocents massacred. We saw before us a mighty tragedy unfolded, the like of which the world only witnessed at Calvary, nineteen hundred and forty-seven years ago. Now we see before us the gathering of war clouds over Europe which threaten the very existence of the human race. Much as I would wish to speak of purely academic themes, on this occasion the situation vibrates with such insistent issues as cannot be ignored.

An age has closed and another has opened. In this, Job Charnok's city, where Warren Hastings first wove the web of our slavery, now Sir, you preside, the last of its Governors under the British Crown, you who were one of the sturdy heroes of our freedom's battle.

Our struggle has been unique in the annals of the world. The British came; saw us disorganised; and bought our soul by a promise of enforced peace. In search for a new dignity, we mimicked foreign ways and mouthed strange accents. We forgot ancient dignity. Only the tremendous vitality of our Culture saved us.

Ram Mohan Roy awoke to a new light which he saw with undimmed eyes; it was the quenchless flame of the Upanishads. Dayanand, almost in the hour of the national disaster of 1857, voiced the urge for a new integration of our Culture, going back to the Vedas, our rock of ages. Ramakrishna, the noblest man of modern times, gave new validity to the heritage of the *Gita*. How can I, a novelist, forget the father of India's literary Renaissance who jointly with Alexandre Dumas, fanned my little creative spark into flame—Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya? Like a second Bhagiratha he

* Delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held on 20th March, 1948.

brought down our other-worldly religious devotion to earth in order to fertilise secular efforts. Vivekananda gave us back our lost dignity and our departed faith in our heritage. Surendranath, the trumpet-voiced, roused us to the vigour of a militant nationalism. When with Japan's victory over Russia, Asia awoke to a new strength, Sri Aravinda, with a prophet's vision, transmuted Indian culture into neo-nationalism which saw the Mother in the Motherland. Then came Gandhiji, the architect of the cunning hand and the unerring eye, and built the fortress of our freedom which resisted for over a quarter of a century the onslaughts of the mightiest and the cleverest empire in world's history. We won; we were free; we stepped into a new life.

Your Chancellor with his uncanny perspicacity realized—much to my chagrin, I confess,—that unity of India was incompatible in the context of a non-violent struggle, and as a result India emerged compact, though truncated. Panditji, with the flaming eye of idealism, sought democracy; and India is today the greatest democracy in the world. Sardar Patel, the firm-planted pillar of our security, stood for strength; and India has been integrating fast,—so fast indeed, that the map of India, with every morning paper, looks like the fantastic dream of a none too sober student of geography!

India today is a free and sovereign nation; naturally, therefore, it faces the baffling problems which sudden independence brings in its wake. Internally, we find around us the symptoms of political immaturity: administrative inexperience; the hunt for new-formed power; a contempt for correct political behaviour; the distrust of tried leaders; a sense of irresponsibility; self-righteous dogmatism, which though plunged in power politics, thinks—and worse, acts—in terms of school room ethics; above all, the absence of an exuberant will to work.

For a nation learning to take its first stride in its independent career, conditions could not be worse. The war has left us its horrid legacies: rising spirals of inflation; lack of production; inadequacy of transport systems; race for international alignments; and as if these were not enough, the prospects of another war "to end all wars."

On the other hand, both in India and Pakistan we have lost—I hope temporarily—the spiritual maturity which we as a people had acquired by slow effort through centuries. I use the word 'spiritual,' not with its other-worldly implications, but implying

the domination of the spirit over the things 'of earth, earthy.' We rose from noble examples of our sages, Satsang to noble conduct, Sadachara; from noble conduct to noble principles, Satya; from noble principles to absolute nobility which lay in self-realisation, Samsiddhi, in the conquest of attachment, wrath and fear, in seeing Me in all and all in Me. "Mam pashyati sarvam mayi sarvab cha pashyati." But we inverted the Platonic concept of progress. We descended from ugly forms to ugly conduct; from ugly conduct to ugly principles, till we finally arrived at the absolute ugliness—the assassination of the one man to whom we owe not only all that we have but a consciousness of all that we were. I refuse to sit in moral judgment over those who fell from grace; I know that they had to face grave provocations; often my blood boiled at the harrowing tales of barbarism. But courage, restraint and dignity make for culture only when they are maintained in face of grave provocations. If there were no provocations these qualities would cease to be prized.

These ills—adverse conditions, political immaturity and spiritual lapse—can only be cured if our Universities rise to the occasion. They are no longer factories for turning out lawyers and officers to support the British rule; nor even are they middlemen for distributing the doubtful gift of Western Culture. They can no more continue to be the agencies for maintaining the mechanical and commercial system of holding examinations. They have to be the seats of Indian Culture.

Our Universities are our only hope in the arduous task of upbuilding the economic, intellectual and spiritual life of our new nation. This age is variably called the age of the common man, the age of mass uplift, the age of classless society, the age of every sweeping generalisation which modern mind can invent. But in truth it is an age—like every other age—when the finest minds are needed to add to the dynamic strength of the country. For, only these minds, when trained by our Universities to the highest efficiency, can provide the superior intelligence, industry and force of character which will give India the leadership of the world in action and thought. It will be catastrophic indeed if we sacrifice intensity to expanse universities to elementary schools; the uncommon mind to the common; for, if the uncommon mind is allowed to run to waste the common man will never be raised.

The new life, it is said, postulates a new education. The aim of our University education, therefore, must be co-extensive with the

new and full life which is now ours. Nay, education being an art, it must have our whole present-day life, our political, social, economic and spiritual well-being for its subject. To attain this objective, the University must be like the ashrama of old. In such a seat of culture, education was a spiritual endeavour where the teacher sat surrounded by his pupils, imparting not merely knowledge but courage, restraint and dignity, not by precept, but by example; where the student lived, not to have his presence marked, nor to secure a pass, not to go on a strike to enjoy an ill-deserved holiday, but to learn the art of shaping his own life, the art of self-sculpture, by humility, pranipata, by developing a spirit of enquiry, pariprashna, by service, seva.

Kalidasa, in *Shakuntala*, has given us a picture of an ashrama, a shrine of living culture with its marvellous surroundings, its well-mannered pupils, its tone and atmosphere full of peace; but we see its soul only when Kanva comes, that beautiful old man who as it were envelopes his pupils, the deer, the bees and the flowers with an all-embracing humanity. The very presence of such a Kanva in our Universities, like Plato, as described by Newman, would be to the student 'a stay for his mind to rest, or a burning thought in his heart, a bond of union with men like himself, ever after.'

Not only the relation between the teacher and the pupil but the quality of our University education must change. University education, all the world over, has deteriorated, partly due to electivism, partly due to a general state of disequilibrium, or rather a spiritual hypnosis in men which speedy industrialisation and rationalism of life has caused.

Electivism connotes that all subjects have an equal educational value and that experimental or social sciences have the same value as classical and historical studies. This outlook is the offspring of Westernism, the way of life evolved by materialistic tendencies which have made a fettish of experimental sciences.

If there is one factor more than any other which has forced a moral crisis on the modern world, it is the Westernistic education, which has built up the militant organisation of materialism. Its products find joy of life only in smut and sensation. The sanctity of the home has no appeal for them, for easy and swift divorce is to them an emblem of liberty. They deride self-discipline. They scorn moral values. They admit nothing higher than the knowledge that subserves immediate practical ends. Naturally, in a world of which

they are the *elite*, purges, mass murders, Belsen horrors, wicked displacement of men, women and children by millions appear normal. Where they do not destroy they propose to establish soulless regimentation. We can have nothing to do with such an outlook. India wants to be a democracy and develop democratic virtues, which our young men will acquire if our Universities, at an early collegiate stage, insist on an intensive study of subjects of purely cultural interest and make the student responsive to higher values.

At the same time our national education must stimulate national productivity. In an international society which is far removed from the moral plane, scientific studies and technical skill are essential for national survival. But in Bacon's words 'I cannot call upon men to sell their books and build furnaces, quitting and forsaking Minerva and the Muses and relying upon Vulcan.'

India is passing from the organic society of the past, created by the unconscious forces of tradition; we are now evolving as, in Europe, a consciously organised society in which our higher aspirations have to combat with the deadly power of the machine cutting into every aspect of life. We can only escape the fate of Europe if we—now free to go our own characteristic way—evolve a new education shaped by our own cultural traditions, which I have ventured to name Creative Education in my book *Creative Art of Life*. Such an education in the earlier stages should be formative; such as would teach the student permanent values in life, not merely arm him with effective skill, make him a useful instrument and yet a man of culture. His interests need not be narrow; nor need he be trained to look at life from the angle of his special subject; he must be equipped for a complete life. Indian traditions and outlook favour such education. But for it the magnificence, continuity and vitality of our Culture would not have been possible.

Such a formative education leads the student to create himself. It is a process of creative self-sculpture; an art by which life energy is so shaped and developed that with every effort the artist attains a higher stage of self-fulfilment. On the other hand the present education leaves the student feeling himself inadequate, incomplete and unhappy; it is anything but creative. To be creative, it must give self-fulfilment which implies a sense of completeness, freedom and growing perfection; a capacity which brings love and achievement in a greater measure; a strength which rises superior to human

weakness ; and an increasingly correct perspective of the unity and goal of life.

At all times the art of self-sculpture in the hands of an aspiring learner who is a fresh young man of unformed habits, is difficult to acquire. During this age he is generally denied the atmosphere of a home where parents practise idealism and teach consecration. The material with which he is to work is also his own individual nature of which he has little or no knowledge. Any system of education which takes into account these difficulties must provide three essential conditions. It must first train the student to precision, analysis, concentration and responsiveness to noble impulses ; secondly train him to co-ordinate his faculties for concentrated work ; and lastly to teach him to express himself under the inspiration of masters in the art of self-sculpture who have moulded India's culture. These conditions would only be satisfied if the ground is prepared by a study of the life-stories of our national heroes ; of the history and culture of our country in the light of world progress ; and of literary masterpieces which India has given the world, the *Mahabharat*, the *Ramayan*, *Shakuntala*, the *Bhagavata* and the *Bhagavad Gita*.

It must be realised that a student is a composite product of his individual talents and aptitudes ; his heredity and environments ; the associations which spring from his relations to his society and his country ; the imponderable influences of his soil, of the sights, sounds and habits of his native land, and above all, of the culture to which he is born. These factors may not all be apparent in the student ; but they constitute his sub-conscious self all the same. Creative Education, therefore, takes its stand on the fact that nothing alien to the individual nature of a student can be taught without denying self-fulfilment. The first step, therefore, in such an education is to teach the student to study, express and live up to the permanent values of his native Culture.

Indian culture is not the same thing as the material equipment of life in India, which is civilization. Cultural values are permanent ; they are an end in themselves. Civilization is the garb of life ; only a means to lead a comfortable life. We are superior to Shri Ramachandra in civilization. We travel in aeroplanes ; he travelled in canoes or on foot. But in absolute values, in pursuit of truth, in idealism, in character, in the beauty of human relations, he would be a bold man indeed who will say that he is superior to Shri Ramachandra.

Each nation has its distinctive culture which forms the source of its strength. Our Culture is an organic growth, native to our soil, our history and the central ideas round which our national life has revolved for generations. Many educated Indians once tried to ape British dress, manners, and habits, some of them do still; but they failed in their attempt to force an alien culture upon themselves or others. Only when they sought self-fulfilment by living up to the values of Indian Culture did they become true to themselves and succeed in giving strength to the group-life.

Shri Aravinda spent his growing years in England, imbibing the best in Westernism. But soon Indian Culture asserted itself. He gave up foreign dress and ways of living. He studied Indian languages and literature. And when he tried to perfect himself in the art of creative life peculiarly Indian, that he became a great apostle of modern Indian nationalism, a great thinker, and a Yogi.

Gandhiji was educated for the Bar in England. But his subconscious self declined to take to Westernism. He had to recapture the fundamentals of Indian culture for himself before he became the architect of resurgent India, challenged Westernism, and stood out as a supreme artist of creative life-energy.

Our new education, therefore, must follow the lines of our Culture. It must affirm the Man, his inner self and, his ultimate destiny as much his historical and social responsibility. Of such an education there should be two basic principles:

First, each individual has an individual nature. For him, the highest law is to express it through thought, word and deed which are compact and intrinsically his own. And his highest destiny is to be prepared to die in order to fulfil the law of his being.

Second, Education, to be truly creative, must make the student more and more himself and teach him to realise his possibilities to the fullest, and so, to fulfil himself. In this way, his personality will grow from strength to strength producing the highest results from his relation to life.

It is an error to suppose that a man is truly educated, because he is a good scientist or a literary man though a bad husband; because he is a capable lawyer though a bad citizen; because he is a good patriot but a moral wreck. Human life is one. It cannot be divided into compartments. And no one can evade his responsibility to life as a whole by claiming that he is devoted to a part of it.

Our Universities will fulfil themselves if they take into account not only the complete growth of the student but the totality of his relations. Life-energy is one torrent and its volume and intensity can be increased only by treating the whole of it.

Thank you, Sir, once again. Now I have only to give one message for the young men : May your path be happy—*shivaste panthanah santu.*

APPENDIX C

CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

SRI CHAKRAVARTI RAJAGOPALACHARYA

Chancellor, Calcutta University

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, MR. MUNSHI, FELLOWS AND GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I tender my warm congratulations to all the recipients of degrees, especially those who were awarded prizes and medals. I congratulate you all on having heard a brilliant address from our honoured guest and have great pleasure in tendering my own and the University's grateful thanks to him. I am glad that the University has secured for a further period of two years the energetic stewardship of Sri P. N. Banerjee as Vice-Chancellor.

Young friends, after two addresses packed with advice and words of encouragement, I feel there is no need for a third speech to be inflicted by me on you. A Chancellor's speech is, however, the established rule in the Convocations of the Calcutta University and I dare not introduce an innovation even by way of omission.

The world peace situation is deteriorating at an alarming pace. The hope of internationalists is to attain a world federation one day wherein peace and justice could be assured for all the peoples of the world, irrespective of colour or continent or type of culture. So long as this is not attained and so long as we have to rest content with a balanced system of national powers as a transitory substitute for the more stable equilibrium of a world federation, there is always a tendency for one or the other of fairly equal powers to be seized with a sudden fear as a result of some true or imagined event. Then a strong and instant feeling possesses it that the best thing would be to precipitate the inevitable conflict before the enemy gets time to grow stronger. Such a situation seems now to have rapidly developed. I hope my apprehensions are wrong but I greatly fear war seems coming again upon the world with swift pace. What is wanted now is not the interpretation of war-preparations in terms of self-

* Text of Speech delivered on the occasion of the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University, held on 20th March, 1948.

defence so as to make them acceptable to citizens who mostly love peace. Of that we have enough stereotype. What is wanted now is some one who will explain America to Russia and Russia to America, and keep off war, one who commands respect and influence and is trusted by both. So far as India is concerned, if only Pakistan and India could join hands, they could both be saved from being involved in the fresh tragedy that threatens the world. Otherwise it would be impossible to escape entanglement.

Well, Convocation addresses have become so formal and stale that they cannot be of much consequence in shaping the actual lives of the graduates to whom they are addressed by convention. Indeed it would be true to admit that no speech whatsoever, however good and full of convincing argument it may be, has at any time any great effect on the conduct of those to whom it is addressed. This may seem to be too cynical a statement. But I believe firmly that it is not speeches or sayings but only example that inspires and infects, for good or evil. Every nation has inherited excellent proverbs and maxims and didactic literature. Yet it may be admitted that these maxims have had little effect on men. Example and personality stand, however, on a different footing. The undoubted influence of Ramakrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda and Gandhiji is entirely due to the lives of these great men rather than to their undoubtedly wise sayings and great speeches and writings. A book admired, a speech listened to with reverence affects one momentarily, but it is only the moral and spiritual forces generated by the lives of great men lived purposefully and without blemish that change the conduct of men and women. In every age are born men who can thus influence others and it is this that sustains the progress of the world. But it would not be right to wait for the appearance of great men. All enlightened and educated men and women must take up the function of showing how to think, how to speak and how to live to the rest of our people and continually act as guardians of culture and right conduct.

Leadership of this kind is service in the best sense of the word. It is a necessity of national uplift and cultural progress that you, graduates, should set an example, each one of you, in your own lives to those illiterate and uneducated people among whom you will live and who are bound to look up to you as leaders of culture and conduct. It is well we understand the fundamental realities of things which by too much familiarity often hide their true import and meaning.

University education is not just the good fortune of a lucky few. That some few men must be continually trained for leadership is an essential part of any scheme of civilised life which ensures order and progress. In some form or other among all civilised peoples and in all ages this was and is being done. Higher education is thus not an accomplishment or a personal advantage for obtaining which you should be grateful, but it is a definite acceptance of an obligation of service by way of active leadership.

Do not depend upon propaganda to improve conditions around you but depend more upon the effect of your own daily life. Propaganda has its utility up to a point but it tends soon to become something with which we deceive ourselves and carries us no further. The main thing to attend to at the present moment in our country is to establish uprightness of conduct between man and man so that the burden of our national Government may be reduced to the minimum. Every individual having become a real shareholder in this great joint stock company that we call Free India, should contribute his best to the joint concern. Cent-per-cent honesty in all work, which dispenses with the need for supervision or inspection, a spirit of industriousness which places all talent and resources and time fully at the disposal of the community, and an equal regard for every kind of work that goes to contribute to the welfare of the community, whatever may be the kind of intellectual or physical labour it involves, —these constitute the substance of patriotic endeavour in Free India. The external struggle for freedom is over. Our effort must hereafter be directed towards maintaining moral and civic standards in daily life. You have, each one of you, in your sphere a capital opportunity that will occur on a hundred occasions for setting the right example and avoiding a wrong lead. The most serious offence against the State that one can commit in Free India without realising it is idleness. Slack work is treason in the present state of our affairs. And all work is equally worthy, nothing small or menial. It is all superior. What is unpleasant but necessary and is carried out loyally, though disagreeable, is the noblest service to the State and is superior service whatever be its conventional classification.

Be tolerant of other's failings. I am saying this to each one of you as real practical advice and not laying down once again an old copy-book maxim. Charity in judgment is a civic policy of the highest practical value. Always lay down for yourselves a more exacting standard than what you would for others. The purpose of all true

education is so to conduct yourself in your daily tasks as to contribute to the common good. The education that you have received has been given to you because it is expected that you will automatically become an enlightened servant of the community, tolerant, broad-minded and avoiding the errors of passion and prejudice and doing always the right thing, not afraid of losing popularity. Every time you find yourself tempted to stray from the path of truth and love, remember Gandhiji, the man who was so eager to guide us and who was so full of wisdom and love and who was snatched away from us so cruelly seven weeks ago. May the blood that flowed from Gandhiji's wounds and the tears that flowed from the eyes of the women of India everywhere when they learnt of his death serve to lay the curse of 1947, and may the grisly tragedy of that year sleep in history and not colour present passions. Shall we hope that in 1950 or thereabouts we shall be able to say truthfully that all of us are more honest and less selfish in Free India than before, that the rice crop has been more abundant than in the days of the British, that the number of acres under cultivation is greater, that there is less crime and that the behaviour of men and women in India is superior to what it is in places not blessed by Indian culture ? Then indeed we can claim that we have built a worthy monument for Gandhiji. This can and must be built by you to whom the future belongs. With integrity of mind and purpose and the will to do, nothing is impossible. The work begins from today. There is to be no waiting for orders or plans.

May God bless you.

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A CO-LATERAL SCHEME FOR MILITARY ORGANISATION OF WEST BENGAL

LIET-COLONEL K. K. CHATTERJI

THE response in support of my appeal for a regular Infantry regiment for West Bengal has been beyond all expectations. The upsurge of public feeling has been intensified by inter-dominion happenings and the unhappy situation in Kashmir.

History must not be allowed to repeat itself here in West Bengal. Unprovoked aggression is contrary to our ethics; but we must be prepared for defensive counter-attacks. Preparedness is half-way to success.

Our democratic government is pledged to unity in the Indian Union and lay no discriminatory limitations, provincial or sectional, in the new military, civil or social structure that is being built up. This is to rectify the many ills left us as evil legacies by the alien rulers; one of which that particularly touches us is the belittling of one province and the extolling of another to serve their selfish motives. Having once besmirched Bengal's dignity as a non-martial province, they meant to perpetuate it; but out of many evils of the two World Wars, one good has emerged; it has enabled Bengal to erase the undeserved stigma once and for all. Bengal responded readily to the call and the youth of Bengal distinguished themselves in all branches of the armed forces. Their martial enthusiasm for an alien is an index of their patriotism for our national government.

Martial qualities must be assessed not only by conceptions based on physical standards but also by the potential qualities of nationalism

and patriotism which ennoble and energise the martial spirit. I had quite a long experience in studying the military qualities of recruits and entrants for commissions at the headquarters, recruiting tours and on many selection boards. I have tried with success to evaluate the fundamental impulses, to scale and canalise the master-sentiments of applicants which seemed to be essential in the assessment of military qualities. But the rigidity of military bureaucracy prevailed to suit its sinister purposes, which had inevitably led to instances of sub-efficiency, a clever excuse for stigmatising Bengal as a non-martial province. Fortunately, this vicious circle ceases to operate now.

We can in full confidence vouch for the soldierly qualities of our youth for the adaptability to military life and discipline, organising qualities, courage and fortitude; in emergent situations they have displayed the much appreciated qualities of alertness and presence of mind; they were quick in learning intricate modern weapons and to handle them with remarkable skill and precision, particularly in the Air Force, the Artillery and the Engineering branches. Bengal may not have qualified itself for physical giantry, but Napoleon, Roberts and many distinguished soldiers were not giants and our War-worthy neighbours, the Gurkhas comrades, nicknamed "little devils" are a terror to the enemy.

I, therefore, again stress the necessity of West Bengal having a regular Regiment of Infantry and a centre where young Bengalis can be trained to be soldiers. Lebong, it is considered, is the most suitable place for establishing this training centre where certain built up accommodation already exists.

The proposed army unit of Bengal need not be large and unweildy, it has to be of just adequate strength and of optimum efficiency. We have to draw up a recruiting programme for fresh entrants, set up committee for the enlistment of civilians undergoing military or even semi-military training and re-enlising released army personnel. I venture to suggest that it would be appropriate to contact Nepal; I have an instinctive feeling, not without foundation, of the co-operation of our worthy neighbour who has deservedly earned the distinction as one of the finest fighters of our country. The possibilities of refugees and rehabilitated person for military service may be explored to the financial and other benefits to all concerned.

The Defence Department has schemes for a Territorial Army, a standby second line of defence and a national militia. The present

I.T.F., Bengal, would not only be an admirable nucleus for these but it will be of immense use in organising these. As it is, it is a civilian army, and is the training ground for the youth of Bengal for developing the physical and mental qualities for military discipline and good citizenship and has out-lived many storms of frustrations and thwartings.

The Bengal I.T.F., originated as the Calcutta University Infantry during the World War I. Later it developed into the Calcutta University Training Corps and is at present the Calcutta University Officers' Training Corps. It trained its Cadet Corps so efficiently that many of its members commissioned as officers in the last War, won distinctions and awards such as M.C., and mention in Despatches. Another unit, the 11/19 Hyd. Regt., had as I apprehended a short career due to mistaken ideas of recruitment as I have already detailed. On its ashes were built another unit, the 5th (Beng. Presy.) Urban Infantry which has rendered valuable service and contributed freely to the allied army in the World War II. It practically fed the 16th Beng. Infantry. 100 members joined different branches of the army and 85 joined the 4th Heavy Battery. They were also conspicuous in civil defence organisations and in other ways in the Fort William.

A regular Infantry regiment, the Territorial as its second line of defence and the militia as an adjunct, would gurantee the defence of West Bengal; half measures have no place in the military. The potentialities of any army is not in its numerical strength, it depends on the efficiency and persuasive leadership of its officers and the soldierly qualities of its men enthused with the spirit of obedience, not the mean obedience from fear, but the reasoned and intelligent obedience of the patriot. Bengalis have all these qualities which the State can with advantage utilise.

All the provinces in the Indian Dominion have their own Infantry regiments. Bengali's neighbouring provinces, Assam and Bihar have theirs. But the unfortunate Bengal has so long been denied by the alien bureaucracy an Infantry regiment though it is believed, Commissions appointed to investigate this had supporters among its members. I strongly appeal to the provincial government to initiate it and the Defence Department of the Government of India to inaugurate it.

THE MESSAGE OF MAHATMA GANDHI THROUGH THE AGES

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THE WORLD is yet mourning the great tragedy of Mahatma Gandhi's death and his devotees and followers who will perhaps never cease to be mourners had decided that this year's National Week's celebrations commencing from April 6 should be devoted exclusively for a genuine tribute to his memory. All lovers of peace and unity will, I am sure, support this decision whole-heartedly since Mahatma Gandhi is a pillar of peace even after his death and his work which has proved more important than that of all the medieval Indian prophets—Ramanuja, Namdeva, Ramanand, Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak—will always continue as the beacon light of freedom from civil and communal disorders. In him the strong movement for communal approachment which had been started and kept alive through the ages by the said prophets reached consummation and the appreciation of Islam and its scriptures on his part showed beyond doubt the synthesis he had made of Sufism and the Bhakti cult which had prepared people's mind from the 12th to the 15th centuries to a new religious outlook renouncing completely meaningless rituals and empty forms and considering God as a Personal Being. The inspired teachers of Bhakti laid great stress on the unity of Godhead and condemned for the most part caste and idolatry and made no distinction between a Hindu and a Musalman "for they are pots of the same clay and are striving by different roads to reach the same goal." Such was the observation made by Kabir Sahib and was fully shared by Baba Guru Nanak who held that " true religion is one " and that " the Hindus and Musalmans are indispensable to each other." Guru Nanak as well as Kabir and others had a keen sense of appreciation of the Muslim saints like Farid-ud-din Shaarganj of Pakpatan, Nizam-ud-din Auliya of Delhi and Baba Gesudaraz of the Deccan and of many more of the leading Sufis who lived and worked peacefully in the midst of the Hindus throughout the length and breadth of India and won great following among members of

both the communities because of their ideal character and because of the complete disregard on their part of all social and religious differences.

In this manner and through the joint efforts of the Hindu and Muslim saints the Bhakti-Sufi movement gathered strength and continued to make progress beyond the 15th century. In the 16th it found exponents like Tulsidas and Surdas who promoted still communal harmony and Hindu-Muslim unity. As a result mutual goodwill and adoration grew into a cult known in history as the cult of Satyapir of which the great patron was Sultan Husain Shah of Jaunpur who is said to have been the forerunner of Akbar, the great. Akbar, the great was profoundly influenced by the teachings of Kabir and other saints and believed in one religion for all. Under his patronage Hindu-Muslim unity was consolidated and the ideology which had cradled it continued to grow. After the death of the great emperor began the glorious epoch of the 17th century produced a Dara Shikoh who confirmed Hindu-Muslim unity with his blood. Profoundly influenced by Mus Sufis and Hindu vedantists Prince Dara Shikoh who was a great scholar translated the Upanishads into Persian and maintained that the essentials of Islam and Hinduism were the same. In the course of the 18th century when the Mughal empire broke up the ideology of Hindu-Muslim unity was undermined and was strangled in the 19th as British power rose to great heights. Instead of the synthetic and constructive ideology of the middle ages a new and separatist ideology began bringing about communal riots and disorders in its train.

The 19th century gave to the 20th the legacy of a new political ideology with separatist tendencies when the Hindus and Musalmans forgot the best teachings of Hinduism and Islam, of Bakhti-ism and Sufism and the precepts and practices of the medieval Indian saints and prophets and took consequently to cutting each other's throat. When such an impasse reached Providence sent Mahatma Gandhi to educate his countrymen, to liberate them from the thraldom of foreign rule and to cure them of the communal virus. By his precepts examples, actions, sufferings and sacrifices he proved himself an inspired teacher or a prophet of Hindu-Muslim unity in modern age. But like a prophet who is never honoured in his country Mahatma Gandhi was bitterly opposed and criticised by his countrymen and was brutally killed by one of his co-religionists. He became martyr at the altar of Hindu-Muslim unity and his blood shed for the cause

of minorities will, it is hoped, work as the seed of a new church—a new organization for the protection of Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan. This was the message he gave to India and to the Indians whom he served most sincerely and faithfully and whom he held dearer than his own life; and in this message of love, peace, brotherhood, freedom and non-violence culminated the Bhakti-Sufi movement the messages of all the Indian movements and gospels—Bhaktism as well as Sufism, the Satyapir of Muslim Shah, the Din-i-Ilahi of Akbar and the Majma-ul-Bahrain of Dara Shikoh. And in order that this message which has come down through the ages should live and still inspire future generations it is necessary that a death blow be given to the ideology which has produced the assassin.

WHITEHEAD'S CONCEPTION OF GOD*

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It was seen that Whitehead conceives of God as a necessary factor in the metaphysical situation presented by the actual world. It was further seen that Whitehead conceived of God as a trinity or a unity of wisdom, judgement and love. We then considered the precise relation in which God may be said to stand to the highest metaphysical category, to wit, Creativity. In the concluding portion of our article in the present issue we shall first briefly consider how God stands related to Ideas, Forms or Eternal Objects. And then we shall discuss Whitehead's view about the relation that obtains between God and the actual world. Finally, we shall point to some difficulties which appear to us to be inherent in some of the fundamental tenets of Whitehead's philosophy.

God and Ideas, Forms or Eternal Objects

As a neo-realist, Whitehead believes in the objectivity of the forms of definiteness of the actual world. Such determinations as sweetness, greenness, treeness, humanity, etc. are not mere subjective modes of apprehension, but objective patterns of existence. These objective patterns or forms of existence are described by Whitehead as "eternal object." Now, according to the Ontological Principle as stated by Whitehead, the reason for everything which happens must be sought in the nature of actual entities. And actuality must always be endowed with some form of subjective experience. So eternal objects cannot be regarded as subsistent entities forming a type of reality different from empirical existents. They are what they are only in so far as they function as the objective termini of some actual entity or occasion of experience. But the actual occasions which fall within the temporal order are passing and perishing in nature. Therefore, the endless plurality of eternal objects must owe

* First instalment of this article appeared in September Number of the *Calcutta Review*.

their being to the conceptual realisation of the non-temporal actual entity which is called God. We have already seen that it is in respect of His primordial nature that God envisages the boundless wealth of possibility which is the same as the infinite range of eternal objects.

In Plato's philosophy there is a controversy as to the precise relation between God and the timeless Forms or Ideas. The suggestion that the Ideas are real independently of God is derogatory to the status and dignity of God. But to hold that the Ideas are nothing but modes of consciousness of the Divine Reality would militate against the constantly held view that Ideas are ultimate components of reality independent of the knowing function. Whitehead gets out of this impasse in the following way. He would surely repudiate the suggestion that eternal objects are modes of experience of God. In Whitehead's view, as we have seen, eternal objects are in their essence objective termini of God's conceptual realisation. But still eternal objects cannot be said to form a separate realm of existence imposing limitations upon the existence of God. Because, eternal objects have, in Whitehead's opinion, no actuality of their own. They are essentially in the nature of possibilities or pure potentials for the specific determination of fact. They are no more than abstractions apart from actual reality.

Whitehead maintains that eternal objects are the link between God and the actual world. Apart from eternal objects, no rational description can be given either of God or of the actual world. Apart from God, there would be no actual world; and apart from the actual world with its passage of events, there would be no rational explanation of the ideal vision which constitutes God. So this brings us to a consideration of the relation between God and the actual world.

God and the World

Like all opposed elements, God and the World also stand to each other in mutual requirement. "God is the infinite ground of all mentality, the unity of vision seeking physical multiplicity. The World is the multiplicity of finite actualities seeking a perfected unity. Neither God, nor the World, reaches static completion. Both are in the grip of the ultimate metaphysical ground, the creative advance into novelty." [1]

[1] Process and Reality, p. 494

Whitehead does not accept illusionism in any form, because he repudiates the theory of static perfection to which illusionism is a logical sequel. Once you start with static perfection as the fundamental principle of existence, you are sure to feel constrained to condemn the temporal world as illusory in some form or other. To look upon Being as eternally perfect is to deprecate Becoming as a process of degradation of the essence of Being. That is why those who start with God or the Absolute as eternally perfect pronounce upon the character of the world as unreal or deficient in actuality in some sense or other. That is also the reason why Plato had to look upon the world of Becoming as torn between Being and Non-Being. This whole tendency to deprecate the temporal world and to admit the notion of ' illusion ' as a fundamental principle is, according to Whitehead, to be set down to the vicious separation of flux and permanence.

The world is then not a realm of appearance, but is the sphere of full actuality from which God himself receives His fullness of being. It is as fully actual that the world functions as a necessary factor in the nature of God. We have seen that God in his primordial nature is unconscious and deficient in actuality. It is by complex integration with feelings derived from the actual world—such integration as is achieved in the consequent nature of God—that God becomes conscious and fully actual. The prmiordial nature of God does not, to be sure, presuppose any particular course of events ; it rather supplies the metaphysical conditions for any course of events to occur. But the consequent nature of God does presuppose the advancing course of actual occasions ; it is the actual world objectified in the living immediacy of His experience. But if God requires the world for His fullness of being, the world also requires God for specific characteristics and for the fulfilment of its creative urge. The world depends on the primordial nature of God for the metaphysical conditions of its being and for the types of order which are realised in it. It also depends on the consequent nature of God for the completion of its being. The actual world is perpetual perishing. Transiency is the fundamental evil which pervades it. The transient ever-perishing world is saved in virtue of the consequent nature of God. The evanescent world attains the character of ' everlastingness ' by its objective immortality in God. The consequent nature of God is harmonising

[1] Process and Reality, p. 492

aesthetic experience of which the concrescent actual occasions are contributory factors.

In Whitehead's view, the relations that obtain between God and the World are, like all relations, reciprocal in charcater.

Whitehead says, " It is as true to say that God is permanent and the world fluent, as that the world is permanent and God is fluent." God is permanent in respect of his primordial nature, and fluent in respect of his consequent nature, because the consequent nature evolves with the evolving universe. The World is fluent in respect of its creative advance, but permanent in respect of its objectification in the living immediacy of God.

It is as true to say that God is one and the World many, as that the World is one and God many. God is one in so far as he is the vision of an unlimited wealth of possibility, but he is many in so far as the plurality of events obtain objective immortality in his consequent nature. The World is many in so far as it includes an endless plurality of actual occasions ; it is one in so far as it is one interwoven web of events.

It is as true to say that, in comparison with the World, God is actual eminently, as that, in comparison with God, the World is actual eminently. God is actual eminently, in so far as the He is the union of immediacy of experience with the objective immortality of the fluent world. The World is actual eminently, in comparisn with God's conceptual envisagement of abstract possibilities.

" It is as true to say that the World is immanent in God, as that God is immanent in the World." The World is immanent in God in so far as it passes into His harmonising aesthetic experience. God is immanent in the World in so far as the order of the World owes its existence to God's conceptual realisation or adjustment of valuation.

" It is as true to say that God transcends the World, as that the World transcends God." God transcends the World in respect of his prehension of many unrealised possibilities. The World transcends God in respect of its unceasing passage into novelty which the consequent nature of God presupposes.

" It is as true to say that God creates the World, as that the World creates God." God creates the World by imparting to the latter its specific order and significant character. The World creates God by contributing to Him the elements of His harmonious aesthetic experience.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 492.

God and the World are thus the contrasted opposites in terms of which Creativity achieves its supreme task of transforming the Many into One, disjoined multiplicity into concrescent unity.

Concluding Remarks

Whitehead maintains that all the opposites of thought are elements in the nature of things and are incorrigibly there. He conceives of God as the light by which we are to understand this incredible fact —that what cannot be, yet is.[1] But does he really succeed in throwing light upon " this incredible fact " by means of the concept of God ? Does not the very nature of God betray itself as infected with self-discrepancies ? First, God in his primordial nature, which is concerned with endless possibilities, is said to be permanent and underived. But possibilities are, on Whitehead's own admission, essentially rooted in the characteristics of actual entities. They are not in the nature of floating ideas or essences. If so, then the primordial nature of God cannot take cognizance of the infinite wealth of potentiality without a proper and adequate sounding of the depth of actuality which he identifies with the fluent world. In other words, since possibility is rooted in actuality, the primordial nature of God which is concerned with the former cannot be entirely independent of the latter. Possibilities, as Stout rightly contends, are elements in the permanent constitution of concrete reality.

In the next place, Whitehead[1] says that while the primordial nature of God is unconscious, His consequent nature is conscious. But how can such radical opposites as the unconscious and the conscious exist side by side as aspects of the same reality without interpenetration ? In the case of finite spirits, the unconscious which is a mark of imperfection is the outcome of their limited power of concentration and their subjection to the operation of external limiting forces ? Are we to think of God also as imperfect and limited and subject to the domination of external forces ? If not, then it is difficult to imagine how there can be any layer of the unconscious in the nature of God. Whitehead further supposes that the unconscious is prior to the conscious, and that consciousness is the product of the interweaving of conceptual and physical feelings. This is evidently in flat contradiction of the plain nature of consciousness. Consciousness which is a far richer concept can by no means be derived from unconscious

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 495.

factors. Consciousness is presupposed in the very act of postulating the unconscious, and all the more so in such high-grade intellectual operations as logical derivation and explanation. It is a perception of this underived ultimate character of consciousness which has prompted all idealistic philosophers to insist that the primordial fact of the universe is neither any unconscious stuff nor any unconscious vision but pure self-luminous consciousness.

Whitehead says that God does not create in the strict sense of the term. The events of the actual world are self-creative in nature. God presupposes the metaphysical character of creative advance, and does not initiate it. He is responsible only for the significant order of the cosmic process. But why should the actual occasions of the world submit to the order imposed upon them by God? How does God manage to thrust his ideal harmony upon the self-creative actual entities of the evolving universe? Mr. Joad realises this difficulty, and frankly admits that the ingression of significant forms into the flux of existence is a matter of accident. Whitehead [1] is not, however, prepared to go so far. And yet he leaves unexplained how the creative flux submits to the forms envisaged and evaluated by God? It seems that though God presupposes Creativity, He also manages somehow to mould Creativity to his ideal vision? Is not this a paradoxical situation? Does it not suggest the existence of a higher reality, a true all-comprehensive Absolute, such as embraces both God and Creativity, and ensures a relation of harmonious co-operation between the two, which alone can account for the significant order of the cosmic process?

We have seen that Whitehead conceives of God as a factor in the metaphysical character of the universe. God requires the actual world for the fulfilment of His nature as much as the actual world requires God for liberation from perpetual perishing. True it is that God transcends the world in respect of His vision of unrealised possibilities, but in regard to this transcendent aspect God is, according to Whitehead, imperfect and deficient in actuality. God in his full actuality is essentially relative to, and conditional upon, the temporal world. This view of the relativity of God to the world is quite in conformity with the fundamental trend of Western thought, and a necessary consequence of the immanent dialectic of conceptual speculation. But the profoundest mystical intuitions of mankind

[1] Stout's Studies in Psychology and Philosophy, last chapter.

declare that God in His highest glory is a supra-cosmic Transcendence. God is His cosmic Creativity is undoubtedly a true, a real poise of His being. But there is a mode of His existence in which He completely transcends all cosmic expression and outsoars all logical conceptions. That is the ineffable, incomprehensible "Numinous" or non-rational aspect of God in respect of which He is entirely supra-cosmic. Bradley is right when he says that the Absolute in its deepest experience is incomprehensible and supra-rational, but he errs in making it the transmuted synthesis of all cosmic differentiation. Whitehead is right when he says that in respect of His transcendent vision of unrealised forms God is the primordial fact of the universe, but he errs in supposing that the primordial nature of God is deficient in being and consciousness. The primordial nature and the consequent nature, the supra-cosmic Transcendence and the cosmic Universality, are equally real—albeit the former may be logically prior to and experientially superior to the latter—poises of being of the supreme Reality.

THE MAKING OF TECHNICAL TERMS

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WANT of technical terms is a great stumbling-block to the spread of higher education in any language. This appears to have been realised quite early in Bengal where a band of illustrious men such as the late Principal Ramendrasundar Tribedi, Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Prof. Sri Jogeschandra Ray did a good deal of pioneer work in this direction. The torch lighted by them has not been allowed to die out. It has been kept alive and carried forward by a number of learned bodies and erudite scholars. To mention only a few of the learned organisations which have made their contributions to this field of literary activity, there is the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and Nagri Pracharini Sabha following in its footsteps. Notice must also be taken of the " Maharashtra Kosha-mandala " (महाराष्ट्र कोष-मण्डल) with its " *Shastriya Paribhasha Kosha* " (शास्त्रीय परिभाषा कोष) scheme, and of the Indian Philosophical Congress which has set up the " Indian Philosophical Terminology Association." The Calcutta University also has played some part in this branch of advancement of learning. It brought out as many as nine booklets dealing with scientific technical terms. Among the erudite scholars who have in quite recent times devoted themselves to this task mention must be made of Prof. D. D. Vadekar of Poona who has compiled the *Indian Psychological Terminology*, of Professors Bhagavatsaran Adholia and Pannalal Baldua who, under the auspices of the " Govindaram Seksaria Artha Sahitya Prakashana Mandal " (गोविन्दराम साकसरिया अर्थसाहित्य-प्रकाशन-मण्डल) of Wardha have brought out a *Vanijya-Shabdakosha* (वाणिज्य-शब्दकोष) dealing with commercial terms, and last but not the least of Dr. Raghu Vira, whose Great English Indian Dictionary is a monument to his great industry and research.

The making of technical terms has received a fresh and strong impetus from the recent political developments in the country. India has attained independence and there is a very widespread recognition that political independence cannot fit in quite well with slavery to a foreign tongue. The result is that some of the provincial Govern-

ments have already decided on the introduction of the provincial languages in their official transactions. But this can hardly be done without the translation into the provincial languages of a number of English technical terms in administrative use. The Government of West Bengal have therefore appointed a Paribhasha-Samsad (परिभाषा-संसद्). The C. P. Government have entrusted the task to Dr. Raghu Vira whose help is also reported to have been requisitioned by the Central Government which have set up a Committee for rendering the Constitution of India into Hindi. Some of the educational institutions have also become freshly active in the matter. The Calcutta University authorities have formed a new Paribhasha-samiti (परिभाषा-समिति).

Thus the different Provincial Governments and institutions appear to be going their own way in this matter, and nothing seems to have so far been done to co-ordinate their activities. This is a state of things which is sure to lead to much needless waste of labour and confusion unless the Central Government intervene without much further delay. Many and different are the Indian synonyms that may be used for such English terms as Governor, Commissioner, Magistrate, etc. It is surely not desirable that the Governor should be called by one name in Bengal, another in Bihar and a third one in Madras. As a remedy for this babel, something should be done, and done without much further loss of time to co-ordinate the activities of the different provinces and learned institutions engaged in the making of Indian technical terms.

There is need also for the formulation of a definite principle, the more so as the scholars and others engaged in the task of building up Indian technical terms fall roughly into two opposing schools, namely moderates and whole-hoggers. The moderates are in favour of the retention unchanged of all technical terms which are in international use. Some of them would also not like to give Indian names to articles and things such as type-writers, telephones, etc., which had no existence in India in the past and are foreign importations. The whole-hoggers, of whom Dr. Raghu Vira may be said to be a prominent representative, on the other hand, would coin an Indian equivalent of even such a term as Calcium Chloride. They would re-christen 'telephones' as Durabhasha (दूरभाष) and ' type-writers ' as Mudralikha (मुद्रलिख). In their opinion, " If English technical terms are," to quote Dr. Raghu Vira, " to be kept in our languages, then our languages will be submerged by the English terminology." In

the interest of higher education and the future cultural welfare of the country, a reconciliation should be effected between these two conflicting schools of thought. This also proves why a co-ordinating agency is urgently necessary.

Naturally Indian technical terms must contain a very large percentage of *Tatsama* (तत्सम) and *Tadbhava* (तद्भव) words. Sanskrit vocabulary is not poor in respect of technical terms. As a matter of fact, if it is properly tapped, it will prove a veritable store-house of technical terms for administrative use. Unless these terms are very uncouth or difficult to understand, there can be no objection to harnessing them to use. They have the glory of old India about them and are sure to be easily accepted in all the provinces of the Indian Dominion.

Even as regards technical terms which will have to be coined, Sanskrit is sure to prove extremely helpful in many cases. For one thing, words of Sanskrit origin are more likely to be readily understood in the different provinces of India than words derived from any other source. They will also help to create and foster a new spirit of unity among the people of this country. Lastly there are but few languages which afford such an unlimited scope for the formation of new words as Sanskrit. Sanskrit is very often spoken of as a dead language, but at least in one respect it is not dead, but very much alive and kicking too. A single Sanskrit root-word combined with various suffixes and prefixes may produce a veritable family of terms expressing different shades of meaning.

In coining new words rules of grammar will undoubtedly have to be obeyed. But it will not do at the same time to forget that Sanskrit too allows a number of alternative terms such as '*Traivarshika*' (त्रैवर्षिक), '*Traivarshika*' (त्रैवार्षिक) and '*Trivarshika*' (त्रिवर्षिक), which are all in conformity with the rules of grammar. Rigid insistence on the rules of Panini or other grammars may sometimes not only prove inconvenient, but also frustrate the very object for which technical terms are made. If a somewhat liberal interpretation of these rules makes it possible to coin words which will be easier to pronounce and write, that is surely desirable.

In the selection of words for technical terminology, not only should their dictionary meaning be considered but their current usage too should be taken into account. 'Shashanka' (शशाङ्क) and 'Mriganka' (मृगाङ्क) both indicate the moon, but current use will not tolerate the application of the word *Mrigi* (मृगी) in the sense of the moon,

though there will surely be no objection to the word *Shashi* (शशी). In every language we come across the phenomenon of what may be called restriction and extension of meaning. This principle of restriction and extension should be considered in connexion with the making of technical terms also. The mode of medical treatment which necessitates the use of instruments like probes is called *Shalakya* (शालाक्य). In Ophthalmic Surgery, in addition to probe-like instruments knives etc. have to be used, yet it should be allowable to call this kind of surgery *Akshi-shalakya* (अक्षि शालाक्य). In such cases it should be understood that there has been an extension of meaning. Scholars dealing with the making of technical terms should bear in mind that the object of terminology is to fasten on a word a meaning in addition to the meaning that properly and generally belongs to it.

Use of Sanskrit for coining technical terms may give rise to objections. Why, it may be asked, should we accept unfamiliar stiff words when easier familiar words are available? If use of English has to be discarded, we shall call an office a *Daptarkhana* (दप्तरखाना) and the 'Secretariat' *Burra Daptarkhana* (बड़ दप्तरखाना). Why should there be any objection to it? But will *Daptarkhana* (दप्तरखाना) and *Burra Daptarkhana* (बड़ दप्तरखाना) be acceptable all over the Indian Dominion? Besides, how far will these terms help in the making of other cognate technical terms? Will any officer or clerk be willing to be called *Daptari* (दप्तरी), a word derived from *Daptar* (दप्तर)?

The word 'office' comes from a Latin root which means "to do." From the Sanskrit root *Kri* (कृ), we can have a number of derivatives to denote an office and things and persons connected with it. In old Sanskrit literature *Karana* (करण) or *Adhikarana* (अधिकरण) implies an office. If 'office' is translated as *Karana* (करण), the 'Secretariat' which is the highest Government office may quite fittingly be called *Mahakarana* (महाकरण) and, a clerk will be *Karanika* करणिक). A 'directorate' may well be translated as *Adhikara* (अधिकार), an officer, *Adhikarika* (आधिकारिक), terms which are quite old. A court may quite appropriately be translated as *Adhikarana* (अधिकरण), a criminal Court as *Dandadhikarana* (दण्डाधिकरण), a Civil Court as *Nyayadhikarana* (न्यायाधिकरण) and the High Court and the Small Causes Court as *Mahadharmadhikarana* (महाधर्म्माधिकरण) and *Avaradharmadhikarana* (अवरधर्म्माधिकरण) respectively. The word 'service' *e.g.*, in Forest Service, Education Service, etc., may very well be rendered as *Krityaka* (कृत्यक), which is also derived from

the Sanskrit root *Kri* (कृ). Will the word *Daptar* (दफ्तर) yield so many derivatives, derivatives which will not have any very unfamiliar ring to Indian ears ?

Another objection that may be made to words of Sanskrit origin is that they are difficult to understand and pronounce. Such an objection, however, can hardly have any solid ground to stand upon. Here is a number of English terms with their Indian equivalents :—

Accountant-General—*Mahagananika* (महागाणनिक).
Advocate-General—*Mahavyavaharika* (महाव्यावहारिक).
Assistant-in-Charge—*Ayukta Sahayaka* (आयुक्तसहायक).
In-Charge—*Ayuktaka* (आयुक्तक).
Civil Supply—[*Jana-*] *Sambharana* ([जन]-सम्भरण).
Commissioner of Transport—*Parivahana-mahadhyaksha* (परिवहन-महाध्यक्ष).
Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation—*Shramika-nishkraya-mahadhyaksha* (श्रमिक-निष्क्रय-महाध्यक्ष).
Compounder—*Misraki* (मिश्रकी).
Confidential clerk—*Apta Karanika* (आप्त करणिक).
Conservator of forests—*Vanapala* (वनपाल).
Contigency menial—*Apatika parichara* (आपातिक परिचर).
Controller of Import Trade—*Vanijya-niyamaka* (वाणिज्य-नियामक).
Criminal Investigation Dept.—*Dushkriti-vimarsha-vibhaga* (दुष्कृति-विमर्श-विभाग).
Emergency Officer—*Atyayika* or *Atyayadhikarika* (आत्ययिक वा अत्ययाधिकारिक).
Entomology—*Kitavidya* (कीट-विद्या).
Finger print Expert—*Angulanka-nibodhaka* (अङ्गुलाङ्क-निबोधक).
Gazetted Officer—*Ghoshita Adhikarika* (घोषित आधिकारिक).
Gazette—*Ghoshapatra* (घोषपत्र).
Herbarium—*Oshadhishala* (ओषधिशाला).
Presidency Magistrate—*Purasasaka* (पुरशासक).
Procurement—*Asadana* (आसादन).
Prosecutor—*Abhisamsaka* (अभिशंसक).
Rehabilitation—*Avasana* (आवासन).
Smoke Nuisance—*Dhumotpata* (धूमोत्पात).
Superintendent of Sericulture—*Kitaposha Adhyaksha* (कीटपोष अध्यक्ष).

Does an unlettered man find it easier to pronounce the English than the Indian terms ? As regards the meaning of these terms, the Indian terms will convey to him quite as much or as little sense as their English equivalents. What does an ordinary man know about a Herbarium or the functions of a Presidency Magistrate or

a Conservator of Forests? As a matter of fact, it is not easy to pronounce or understand the meaning of foreign words. It is because we have become familiar with them that we think that they are easy to pronounce and we understand their meaning. If we begin using Indian terms in place of these foreign words, they will also, after some time, become easy to us. We must study Indian languages as diligently and as carefully as we have so far studied English, and then the air of unfamiliarity which Indian terms appear to have at present will surely wear off.

There is some force in the objection that Bengali will become poorer if use of foreign words which have already found their way into our language is banned. But this question has another side to it also. Will it be to the interest of our language to bar the door to the Indian equivalents of these foreign words provided they are suitable and easy to pronounce? In every case therefore there should be consideration. Words, Indian or foreign, have in every instance to be judged on their merits. No word should be given a place in technical terminology simply on the ground that it has already obtained some currency.

Round the World

Recommendations *Re* Primary and Secondary Education—

Sometime ago a committee was constituted by the Education Department of the Government of India regarding the set-up of secondary education in free India. It was a committee of experts presided over by Dr. Tarachand, Education Advisor and Secretary to the Education Department, Government of India. Among its members were the Directors of Public Instruction of the provinces and states, Mr. K. Zacharia and Mr. Humayun Kabir. It had its first meeting in the first week of May and thereafter it made some recommendations. Actual report which is possibly of an adinterim character is not before us. But a summary as published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 5th May gives us an idea as to these recommendations.

At present pre-matriculation school period is ten years. But in some provinces intermediate college classes are also regarded as part of secondary education and not of collegiate or higher education. Consequently, it may be said that the full period of school work covering both primary and secondary classes is twleve years. The Committee has accepted this period as the basis of its recommendations: A student, according to the Committee, will be eligible for admission to the first year of degree course, provided he has successfully undergone a course of education for twelve years. Of this period the first five years will cover the junior basic course, which, by the way, will be a compulsory course for all boys and girls. Thereafter there will be a senior basic or pre-secondary course for three years, which will be followed by a secondary course for four years. In other words Classes I to V will be junior basic classes, Classes VI to VIII will be senior basic or pre-secondary classes and Classes IX and X together with the two existing intermediate college classes will form the secondary classes.

Evidently the scheme, as propounded above, will involve the withdrawing of the intermediate classes from the existing colleges and their being tacked on to the schools. In provinces like U.P. this may not involve much change in the existing arrangement of things. There, with some exceptions, intermediate classes are already part of school work and are under the supervision and control not of the Universities but of Secondary and Intermediate Boards. In West Bengal, however, the adoption of this recommendation will involve a fundamental change in the organisation of both secondary and collegiate education. The Government of West Bengal will not certainly do anything in this regard without full considera-

tion of the derangement which the adoption of such a recommendation may bring about in college economy. In fact already a committee has been appointed by that Government under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Biswas to examine among other questions this one as well.

Dr. Tarachand, who presided over the Committee, is reported to have pointed out in his inaugural address that although education was a provincial subject, it was desirable to maintain uniformity throughout the country. " The Government of India, therefore, felt that the Committee should prepare a frame-work within which the provinces could fit in their schemes of secondary education." Now the frame-work which this Committee is reported to have suggested provides for the inclusion of intermediate classes in the secondary course. The Biswas Committee in West Bengal will have consequently to regard the existing intermediate classes of colleges in this province as part of school education and not, as now, as part of collegiate education. The question is if in view of this Mr. Justice Biswas and his colleagues will be required to recommend that the management of these classes should be withdrawn from colleges and vested in selected schools. This will certainly be a very important matter for the Provincial Committee and the Provincial Government to decide.

As for the place of English and the federal language in the curriculum, the report as summarised is not clear. " With regard to English, the Committee were of opinion that it should not be taught in the junior basic stage. As for the students who take up the senior basic course, it should be optional but compulsory for those who take up the pre-secondary course. They also resolved that English should be compulsory at the secondary stage as long as it remains the medium of instruction in the universities." To that end any student who intends to go in for secondary education must read English in the pre-secondary course. But as soon as English ceases to be medium of instruction in the University stage, he need not read English in the secondary course. According to the recommendation of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors, however, English should be compulsory in the University stage. Could English be effectively studied in the University stage without being so studied in the secondary course which will include intermediate classes? And should English be compulsory in the pre-secondary stage without being made compulsory in the secondary stage when this language ceases to be medium of instruction in University teaching? Possibly fuller report may throw more light on these questions.

Palestine—

On the 15th of May next the British Government will surrender its mandate over Palestine and will no longer remain responsible for its administration. British soldiers will be allowed to remain stationed in that country for about three months more. But evidently their utilisation

for purposes of defence and internal security will be the concern of a successor-authority. The most important question today is how this new authority is to be constituted. There is no end of confusion of thought in this regard. People and Governments which are expected to take the decision appear not to see the light and find it immensely difficult to make up their mind. Even when they make a decision, they become unwilling to face manfully the situation which it happens to create. So they shift their position, refuse to implement the decision already taken and grope for a new solution of the problem. Much of this confusion and indecision is due to the fact that the solution of the Palestinian problem is being attempted not on its merits but in the light of the Anglo-American political and economic ambition in the Arab world.

Palestine is a country of only ten thousand square miles and has a population today of 18 lakhs and 46 thousand of whom about 12 lakhs are Arabs and about 6 lakhs are Jews. The Jews came in batches after the Balfour Declaration of November 1917. This Declaration was, as it is well known, due to the pressure brought by such great Jewish leaders as Lord Rothschild and Dr. Chaim Weizmann to bear not only upon the Government of Britain but upon those of such countries as France and the U.S.A. When the War of 1914-18 was over the Zionist Organisation submitted some proposals to the Paris Peace Conference for the implementation of the Declaration of 1917. These proposals envisaged the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth which would include within it territories not only of Palestine but of Transjordan and South Lebanon. The Commonwealth was again to be "just as Jewish as America was American or England English." The proposals were not accepted in that form. But Palestine was made a mandated territory under Britain and under this arrangement efforts were made to implement the pledge which was implicit in the Balfour Declaration, *e.g.*, the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. It should be remembered in this connection that although the setting up of a Jewish Commonwealth which would be as Jewish as America was American or Britain British was opposed by the Paris Peace Conference, the original idea behind the Balfour Declaration was maintained—that Palestine would be a national home for the Jews in which, however, the indigenous Arab population would enjoy civil and religious rights. In other words the state would practically be Jewish but it would accord civil and religious rights to the Arabs settled there. The British Mandate was evidently expected to implement this idea. The Mandate was not and could not be a permanent arrangement. So sooner or later Britain must withdraw and at the time of withdrawal naturally she would transfer power to the people whose national home Palestine would by then be.

But during and after the first World War there was a resurgence of Arab national movement. Britain herself was largely responsible for this

resurgence. British agents in Arabia fostered it during that War as a counter-blast to Turkish imperialism whose weight had been cast on the side of the Central European Powers. During the inter-war years this Arab nationalism became a factor to be reckoned with. Not only Britain, however pro-Jewish she might be, would be required to appease this Arab nationalism but what was more the British imperial interests coincided with pan-Arab or even pan-Islamic interests. It was necessary for Britain as also later for America to keep in hand the entire bloc of territory running from Lahore to Gibraltar. In the years immediately preceding the 2nd World War this pro-Arab policy of Britain became increasingly evident and the Jews who were by then utterly demoralised and weakened by Nazi tyranny could not alienate Britain and had somehow to be reconciled to British policy, though it was no longer anchored in Balfour Declaration.

During and after the 2nd World War the U.S.A. became a competitor of Britain in wooing the Arab states for concessions in oil and ancillary economic interests. Consequently official America is unwilling to implement the demands of zionism lest thereby it should alienate the Arabs and the Islamic world. The ground on which Washington threw its influence on the side of the resolution as it finally emerged out of the U.N. Security Council on the Kashmere issue applied equally to the turning of America's back upon Jewish claims in Palestine. But it should be remembered that Jewish opinion in the U.S.A. is not altogether uninfluential and Jews are powerful in the political antechambers and lobbies, though not in the inner councils of government. That is why there has been so much procrastination on the part of Washington authorities regarding the Palestine issue. If Jewish opinion was less strong, Palestinian Jews would have been thrown overboard long ago and a frankly pro-Arab policy would have been resorted to. In Britain, particularly in Conservative circles, this frank pro-Arab policy had long been favoured and the Government, though labour in composition, has acted up to it wherever it could do so without scandal. The U.S.A. would have fallen in line without demur if the New York Jews had not been lobbying assiduously and resourcefully. But however round-about American policy may be there is no gainsaying the fact that it is now positively pro-Arab.

In 1937 the British Royal Commission presided over by Lord Peel had suggested a way out of the Arab-Jewish tangle in Palestine. It recommended a partition of the country so that the Jews and Arabs might work out their destiny separately. This partition would partially have fulfilled the hopes of the Jews—hopes aroused by the Balfour Declaration. But in 1939 the British Government faced with Nazi aggression could not alienate the Arabs and had therefore to go back upon the recommendations of the Peel Commission. But sometime ago a U.N. Committee which was specially appointed to look into the question of Palestine and suggest a way out

of the existing difficulties there recommended again the partition of the country into Jewish and Arab zones so that when the British Government would surrender the mandate over Palestine, power might be transferred to the two authorities. But the recommendation, though practically accepted by the Jews, was turned down unhesitatingly by the Arabs who bear in mind the position of vantage they occupy in the game of international diplomacy today and whose ambition has been whetted by British support in more ways than one. For a time it seemed that however opposed and resisted by the Arabs the United Nations would see partition through. But neither the British Government nor the Washington authorities would push it down the throat of the Arabs. Besides, there was apprehension that Russian communism might fish in the troubled waters which partition would create in Palestine. So the idea of partition was shelved, though the U.S.S.R. protested against this step. The proposal today is that Palestine after the British mandate is over will be a trust of the United Nations.

Meanwhile as the day of British withdrawal draws near, the Arab world mobilises its forces and decides to throw them into Palestine. The Jews also have collected arms and become prepared in self-defence. The latter have had the clear idea as to the Anglo-American views regarding their future in Palestine and have become determined to foil them as far as they can. It should be remembered that these Arab states have been supplied with arms by the British and if the latter so wanted, they might stop these governments from using these arms against Palestinian Jews. It is true that at the time of writing the British Government has issued a warning to that effect to the Arab states. So it is expected that so long the mandate lasts there may not be a full swing attack by the Arab forces. But on the 13th of March *The New Statesman and Nation* wrote the following : " The ostentatious arrival in Palestine of Fawzi bey Kawkji will cause surprise only to the few innocents who still believe that Britain is remaining strictly neutral in the Palestine problem. Fawzi is a Syrian who became the Mufti's chief guerrila leader during the Arab revolt of 1936-39, when he was already in German pay.....He fled with the Mufti in 1939 and took part in Rashid Ali's revolt in Iraq in 1941.....He was next heard of some months ago when he arrived at Lydda airport in a passenger plane and was permitted by the police to travel to Syria.....A few weeks ago he crossed the Palestine frontier with an armed band, and on that occasion was repulsed by British troops. Now, he has come in unmolested with, according to one of his staff officers, six weapon carriers, twenty armoured scout cars and more than a hundred assorted light artillery pieces, and occupied the village of Kabatiya which was his headquarters during the Arab revolt. Yet Hector McNeil can state in the House of Commons that we have no evidence that arms supplied to the Arab countries are being used in Palestine to oppose partition."

This is sufficient evidence of what the British want the Arabs to do in Palestine. If further proof is necessary as to Britain's intention to concede Arab demands, it is supplied by the Round Table of December 1947. It observes : " If Partition is not accepted, there appears no alternative but the establishment of a democratic State in Palestine, with an Arab majority." It expects that if such a state is established, the government policy will no doubt be determined by the Arabs but they will " ensure fair treatment for the minority." It is of course true that such a solution of the Palestine problem will be distasteful to the Zionist Jews for thereby the idea of Jewish national home will be completely frustrated. But, the journal says, " the basis of the National Home is so artificial that it could not hope to stand against concerted economic measures." So the Balfour Declaration should be buried once for all, the idea of Jewish national home should be finally abandoned and the six hundred thousand Jews already settled in the holy land should be thrown to the Arab wolves. Round Table is a conservative imperialist journal but it reflects the views of the general British public in regard to lines of foreign policy to be pursued by the country. So the Jews in Palestine must be prepared to guard their interests as best they can.

Anglo-American Policy in Middle East and the Role of Pakistan—

In an illuminating article in the April number of the Nineteenth Century and After, a writer discusses British, American and Russian policy in the Middle East. As for the British, they have had their traditional political and economic interests in the countries of the Middle East. Until recently they would not brook any competitor or partner in the aggrindisement of these interests. But their strength has now been considerably undermined. Their apprehension as to Russian ambition in these countries has considerably increased. Their partnership with the U.S.A. in other fields has grown by leaps and bounds. It was but inevitable on this ground that in the Middle East also there would be some kind of Anglo-American collaboration. In fact though a few years ago Washington authorities looked upon Middle Eastern affairs with the detachment of an indifferent onlooker, today the U.S.A. is threatening to be the senior partner in the exploitation of these countries.

In Iran, the writer observes, " instead of non-intervention, President Truman proceeded to prop up the Persian Government ; he sent engineers, military advisers and financial experts to reorganise Persia's affairs." " American interest in all Middle Eastern countries was further underlined by the extension of United States oil interests in Saudi Arabia. An agreement was reached whereby the United States bought half the output of the British oilfields in southern Persia. Furthermore joint Anglo-American pipeline was to be constructed from the British-owned Persian oilfields

through Arabia to the Mediterranean." " ....British troops were the shield behind which American economic influence expanded swiftly throughout the Middle East." In an article in the *Pravda* quoted by the writer, it was pointed that " American imperialism, striving to place the Arab East under its own control, is playing a double game. On the one hand it is supporting the weakened British partner, using the British army and the British colonial intelligence apparatus, as a police force against Arab liberation movements. On the other hand, the United States is intensively promoting her economic expansion, seizing one British position after another." Britain, as it has been pointed out already, looks at American expansion in a different light. She regards it as part of Anglo-American collaboration without which she cannot stand full height as a first class power in this post-war world.

But it is not enough for Britain and America to collaborate. If they are to aggrindise their interests, they must have the cooperation of the Governments of the Middle Eastern countries. This is for two reasons. First the people of these countries must be reconciled to this Anglo-American domination. This will be no easy job in view of popular upsurge there. Secondly, the infiltration of Russian influence must be made impossible and the onrush of Russian forces at some crucial hour must be resisted and thrown back. For both purposes leadership in Middle Eastern political and socio-economic affairs must be vested in hands which would be strong but reliable from Anglo-American standpoint. Where are they to be sought?

Egypt which has so far dominated the Arab League is rather out of hand. Sudan issue keeps it apart from Britain. In fact the latter has practically given up all hope of a settlement with Egypt though Anglo-Egyptian talks on this question may be resumed. King Abdullah of Tansjordan had long been encouraged by the British Government as to his ambition of widening his authority and extending his jurisdiction at the expense of Syria. But there is now the possibility of a better understanding between Britain and Syria and on that account King Abdullah has been thrown overboard. He is chagrined at Britain's change of mind. Britain then tried Iraq. A new treaty was signed between the two countries at Portsmouth and the Iraq Government " was assured of military support in a manner never before given to any other Government in a British treaty of alliance." " The armed forces of Iraq were to receive military and airforce training and all the latest equipment in arms, planes and ships of the most modern type, ' on the same priority as the armed forces of Great Britain'." The intention was to substitute Iraq, after it was made not only strong but friendly towards Britain, for Egypt as the head of the Arab League. But the Iraq Cabinet which signed this treaty was overthrown and although Britain has not lost hope of a close understanding with this country in the near future, for the time being affairs have gone

into the melting pot. Besides, politicians in Iraq are not trained in the way the British would prefer. They have neither the outlook nor the personality so to influence the policy of the Islamic world as to be helpful to the British and American Governments. The British are consequently worried. " They see no strong and popular leadership of Western calibre in any of these Arab countries which could, if it came to the test, stand up to combined Russian pressure and Egyptian nationalism."

" Once again, therefore, some of the more far-sighted and leading officials at the Foreign Office are casting further afield. They would like to bring Pakistan into the new alliance, as the leading element with its eighty million Moslems (?) and its able Bitish-trained statesmen and administrators. Pakistan in fact should become the corner-stone of the new alliance to give it new vision, which might stand up against the dangers which the British foresee for themselves from the new line-up in the Middle East. Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan might also be included, but these countries are considered far less important than the role which is now allotted to Pakistan as the new leader of the Moslems in the Middle East. That is the plan."

This should explain the solicitude for the British and American representatives in the Security Council for the interests of Pakistan and for their supporting a resolution on the Kashmere issue which is so replete with dangers for India. Let us beware.

Why China Supported the Security Council Decision on Kashmere—

We have seen above what impelled Britain and the U.S.A. to persuade the Security Council to pass the resolution it did on the Kashmere issue which was referred to this body by the Government of India. But many people in this country were surprised to see China, which has been befriended so much by the Indian public, siding with these powers on this important question. The reason is to be found in the blunt observations of a writer in the Round Table of December last. He says :

" .....China is in the difficult situation of being officially one of the big Powers but in reality almost a dependant of the United States and being located on the frontiers of America's chief antagonist. The consequences of this relationship may be fateful. They manifest themselves not only in all aspects of Chinese foreign policy but also in many internal developments. Every important step by the National Government is taken with an eye on Washington and with an estimate of the current state of American-Russian relations or of the probable trend of sentiment in a now Republican Congress. American arms, planes and credits are indispensable for the prosecution of the civil war ; and so American advice and criticism (often bluntly expressed.....) on the reform of the Chinese Army and Government must be swallowed with a good grace." So instead of five big powers having permanent seats in the Security Council there are now four of them, with one exercising two votes. How long will this anomalous situation be allowed to continue ?

Reviews and Notices of Books

Co-operation in China and Japan. By Mahesh Chand, M.A., with foreword from Diwan Bahadur H. L. Haji, published by Vora & Co., 3, Round Building, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 2.

The co-operative movement is an adjunct to democracy. It negatives private property. It ensures a community of belief in a people conscious of its own strength, able to grow and expand on account of its own momentum. The reader will find that the co-operative movement in China began at a much later date than in India, but it developed at a faster speed. Co-operation was studied in China in an environment of independence and other welcome surroundings which had been an impossibility even the other day in our country. Those who are seriously thinking of abolishing the zamindari system and of nationalising industries will do well to have a thorough study of this book wherein they will find an indigenous system of co-operation taking firm root in an unbroken soil which proved a veritable second line of defence in China's national struggle against Japan.

M. B. B.

Is Grouping of Provinces Compulsory? By Jag Parvesh. Published by Indian Printing Works, Kavehri Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 3-8.

Among various pamphlets, dealing with the subject of grouping of provinces as desired by the British Government in their statement of December 6, 1946, the book under review is an elaborate study by a scholar. Though the question has almost become an anachronism, after the achievement of independence, it will, no doubt remain, a store-house for references for future historians.

M. B. B.

New Orientation. By M. N. Roy. Published by Renaissance Publishers, Post Box 580, Calcutta. With foreword by Phillip Spratt. Price Rs. 6-8.

Here is a book full of thought-provoking ideas, original in both conception and presentation. As a political thinker of international reputation, Mr. Roy has evolved a political sagacity, which he has tried to apply to Indian conditions so that we may not fail to rise as a nation after the achievement of independence. Whether we agree with him or not, it is a fact that the present-day politico-economic fabric of India was reared up in the past, partly on the foundation of decomposed feudal relations and partly on vacilating and weak capitalist federation. That is why the whole structure is nothing but a kind of hybrid, diseased and weak in its

composition. This accounts for the non-existence of any monolithic party in its political organisation rendering the mass amophorous and undecided in their attitude to the realities of life. A new orientation has become an urgent necessity, if only to oust the selfish Indian bourgeoisie long-rooted in their advantageous position by reason of their education and culture. Mr. Roy considers it desirable that a Messiah should rise, and infuse an urge in the masses to work for humanity and not for any particular caucus. He further concludes that all forms of isms, including the undiluted form of Marxism, are unsuited to our Indian soil and environment. The new system should be broad-based on the idea of the effacement of all inqualities and the securing of maximum material well-being. Its pedestal should be collectivism and in the background of its activity, there must be peace and tranquillity.

J. N. MITRA.

Studies in Indo-British Economy Hundred Years Ago. By Nirmalchandra Sinha, M.A., P.R.S. Introduction by Professor Radhakamal Mookerjee. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., 2, College Square. Calcutta. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 5.

The bibliography at the end of the book which includes hitherto unpublished documents in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, some not well-known Parliamentary Papers which have appeared in print, as well as a formidable number of standard books on Indian history, economics, etc., shows the pains taken by the author in securing data from generally out of the way sources on which to base his conclusions as well as the technique adopted by him to arrive at them.

It is pleasing to find Mr. Sinha handling his materials not only with skill but also with the detachment of the typical student. A critical interpretation of the Charter Act of 1833 while undoubtedly valuable in itself if only because of the freshness of the outlook, serves as introduction to a discussion of those factors which were responsible for the investment of British capital in countries outside Great Britain. Incidentally, much light is thrown on the reasons for the emergence of landless labour in India, the belated appearance of Indian capital in the organisation of industries in our motherland and last, but not least, the emigration of Indian labour to foreign lands.

It is not often that one comes across a scholarly book where the conclusions reached are supported by evidence culled painstakingly from sources ordinarily little known to any except specialists. It is therefore that we particularly recommend it to those who are on the look out for a book in which this particular period of the economic and political history of India is treated in an interesting and convincing way.

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

Education and the Draft Constitution of India. By A. N. Basu. Indian Associated Publishing Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 24. Price Re. 1.

We welcome this pamphlet which has been brought out at a very opportune moment. Mr. Basu has long been connected with the Teachers' Training Department of the Calcutta University as its head and has been prompt in discussing all educational problems as they happen to arise from time to time. It was but fitting that on the eve of the final meeting of the Constituent Assembly for the adoption of India's constitution he should come out with this brochure. The object is to stimulate expert thought as to the provisions which our Constitution should make for education in the country. To this end the appendices which he has included in the brochure and which cover fourteen of its pages will be immensely heplful to the readers in the formation of their judgment on the issue. The appendices include the provisions made regarding education in the Draft Constitution of India which was brought out sometime ago, in the Report of the Nehru Committee (1928), in the Karachi Resolution of the Congress, and in the Constitutions of the U.S.S.R., Eire, Switzerland, Germany (1919), Canada, Poland, China and Czechoslovakia. It is our hope that the pamphlet will be carefully gone through by the members of the Constituent Assembly.

N. C. Roy

Ourselves

M. B. Examination Results

The results of the M. B. Examinations held in February are as follows :

	Regd. No.	No. passed	Percentage of passes
Third M.B.	3	2	66.6
Final M.B. (Old)	24	6	25.0
Final M.B. Part I	20	16	80.0
Final M.B. Part II	8	5	62.5
Final M.B. Parts I & II	349	59	23.7

* * * *

Law Examination Results

The results of the Law Examinations held in March are as follows:

	Preli-minary	Inter-mediate	Final
No. of candidates registered ...	309	176	136
No. of candidates absent ...	53	28	15
No. of candidates expelled ...	1	...	...
No. of candidates passed in Class I ...	8	8	7
No. of candidates passed in Class II ...	142	101	83
No. of candidates whose results are withheld	1	2	1
Percentage of Passes	58·8	69	75
Percentage of Passes at the previous examination.	60·5	80	...

* * *

Supplementary B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations

The results of the Supplementary B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations are as follows:

	B.A.	B.Sc.
No. of candidates registered ...	844	231
,, ,, absent ...	197	72
,, ,, passed ...	426	93
,, ,, expelled	2	...
Percentage of Passes ...	66.6	58.5

* * * *

Students Going Abroad

There are many students of this and other Universities, who proceed to foreign countries every year for further education in different fields. Many of them unfortunately do not seek any advice regarding their fitness for courses of study which they choose in foreign educational institutions. The result is, as it could be expected, that many of them are declared unfit for such courses and are compelled to go in for prelimeinary studies for a year or more. This means waste of time and foreign exchange. Sometimes it unjustifiably reflects discredit on the institutions from which they may have received their education in India. Any student, for instance, who chooses an advanced course in Mining and Metallurgy in the U. S. A. must have to his credit a thorough knowledge of Mathematics. Any one who has passed B.Sc. here with Geology, Chemistry and Geography will not therefore be immediately eligible for Metallurgical studies in U.S.A. He must qualify himself in Mathematics as well. It is better that this qualification is acquired in this country. So our advice is that students intending to go abroad should consult, before selecting courses of study, the Students' Advisory Bureau (overseas).

FROM RAMMOHAN TO GANDHI

WANTED DATA

The following appeal for co-operation has been issued by Professor Benoy Sarkar to whom it may concern :

Dear Colleague,

Two bibliographical books, one entitled *Indian Economic Thought from Rammohan to Gandhi* and the other *Indian Political Thought from Rammohan to Gandhi* are being published under the auspices of the Calcutta University. I am wondering if you can help me with some data about your part of the country.

At least a dozen names are wanted for the nineteenth century whose writings as articles in journals and as books (in English and/or mother-tongue) must be mentioned in this publication with dates.

Perhaps it will be possible for you right away to suggest a few authors or publicists of the last century and recomend one or two biographical or auto-biographical publications. May be, there are some pamphlets or articles already published along the lines of my inquiry.

In any case I shall be obliged by your kindly offering me co-operation in regard to the work contemplated.

With best wishes and greetings.

I remain,
Cordially yours,
BENOY SARKAR

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification Memo. No. C/6337/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3), Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, be permitted to train candidates for the Diploma Examination in Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery with permission to present candidates for the examination for the first time in 1949 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

No. 16-G. Applications are invited for three Post-Graduate Research Scholarships of Rs. 100 a month each from candidates who are natives of or domiciled in reconstituted Assam. Applications are to be submitted so as to reach this office by 30th June, 1948, at the latest.

Only M.A. or M.Sc. candidates are eligible to apply, and they are to furnish the following particulars :—

1. Name of candidate.
2. Educational qualifications stating the class secured in M.A. or M.Sc. and B.A. or B.Sc. Examinations.
3. Native District.
4. Present address.
5. Name of College or University in which the candidate will carry on or is carrying on Research work and also the subject of research.
6. Testimonials from Principal and Professor concerned in support of his ability for research work. If the candidate is already engaged in Research work a Certificate from the Professor under whom he is working should be submitted.

SHILLONG,

SD/- R. K. DAS,
Asstt. Director of Public Instruction, Assam.

Memo. No. 15003-09 Ex.

18/147/48.

Copies to : 1. The Superintendent, Government Press, Shillong, for favour of publishing the notification in the next four issues of the *Assam Gazette* and supplying this office with 20 spare copies.

2. The Principal, Cotton College, Gauhati.
3. The Registrar, Calcutta University.
4. The Registrar, Gauhati University, Gauhati.
5. The Registrar, Hindu University, Benares.
6. The Registrar, Muslim University, Aligarh.
7. The Registrar, Allahabad University, Allahabad.

The Registrars are requested to give it wide publicity to the Assamese students their respective Universities and to forward their applications with necessary recommendations in due course.

SD/- ILLEGIBLE,
Asstt. Director of Public Instruction, Assam.
in Charge.

Notification No. R.10

It is hereby notified for general information that the following changes proposed Chapter XLIX-A of the Regulations relating to the Diploma in Ophthalmic Medicine l Surgery, have been sanctioned by Government.:—

" In the last paragraph of Section 2 (p. 508) the words ' a year of practice ' be laced by the words ' a year of training '."

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.